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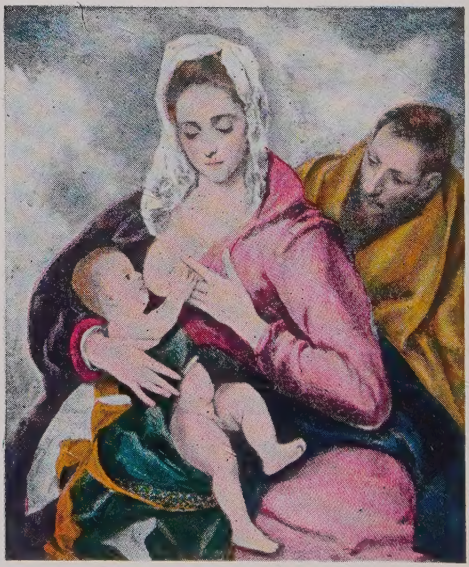
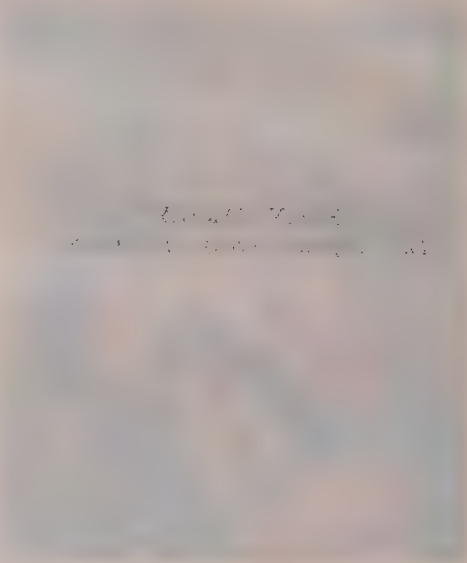


HOLY FAMILY
The Hispanic Society of America



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Der [illegible] Theater-putti, called

EL GRECO

BY

ELIZABETH DU GUE TRAPIER

Corresponding Member of The Hispanic Society of America

THE HISPANIC SOCIETY
OF AMERICA
NEW YORK
1925

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CONTENTS

PAGE

Introduction: The Greek of Toledo . . 1

Chapter I

El Greco in Venice.—The Clovio letter.—*Portrait of Clovio.*—Rome and the Farnese Palace.—*The Healing of the Blind.—The Adoration of the Magi.—The Purification of the Temple.—Portrait of Anastagi.—Saint Jerome.—Portrait of a Lady.*—El Greco leaves Italy 7

Chapter II

Toledo. The house of El Greco.—The contemporaries of the artist.—The *retablo* for the Church of *Santo Domingo el Antiguo.—The Annunciation. — Pietà. — The Expolio.* — El

Greco's quarrel with the Chapter of Toledo Cathedral 18

Chapter III

The Escorial and Philip the Second.—Artists in Spain.—*Supposed Portrait of Pompeo Leoni.*—*Saint Maurice* commissioned by the King.—*Portrait of a Man.*—*Portrait of a Doctor.*—*Supposed Portrait of the Duke of Benavente.*—*Portrait of Cardinal Quiroga.*—*Portrait of an Old Man.*—*Portrait of an Artist.*—*Portrait of Niño de Guevara.*—*Portrait of the Lady of the Flower.*—*Portrait of Paravicino.* — Two miniatures. — The supposed *Family of El Greco.*—The son of El Greco.—Francisco Preboste 37

Chapter IV

The Burial of the Count of Orgaz 63

Chapter V

El Greco and Spanish mysticism.—

Christ Embracing the Cross.—Christ Bestowing a Blessing.—The Crucifixion.—Saint Peter.—Saint Ildefonso.—Saint Sebastian.—Saint Dominic.—Saint James the Great.—Saint Jerome.—Saint Mary Magdalene.—The Tears of Saint Peter.—Saint Francis.—Holy Family.—Saint Louis.—Supposed Portrait of Julián Romero 79

Chapter VI

The increasing mannerisms in the works of El Greco.—The *Colegio de Doña María de Aragón,* Madrid.—The *retablo* for the Chapel of *San José,* Toledo.—*Glory of Philip the Second.*—The *retablo* for the *Colegio de San Bernardino,* Toledo.—The *retablo* for the Church of the Hospital of *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad,* Illescas.—His work for the Church of the Hospital of *San Juan Bautista,* Toledo 95

Chapter VII

The characteristics of the last works

by El Greco.—*The Prayer in the Garden.*—*The Adoration of the Shepherds.*—*The Pentecost.*—*The Immaculate Conception.*—*The Opening of the Fifth Seal.*—*Laocoön.*—*View and Plan of Toledo.*—*Toledo in a Storm.*—El Greco receives a visit from Pacheco.—The inventory of the artist's possessions.—His will.—His death.—Sonnet by Góngora in honour of El Greco 117

Notes 135

Partial list of works 142

Bibliography 159

Index 169

PLATES

HOLY FAMILY (*New York. The Hispanic Society of America*) *Frontispiece*

PLATE

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI (*Vienna. Kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie*) I

THE PURIFICATION OF THE TEMPLE (*Richmond. Sir Frederick Cook*) II

THE PURIFICATION OF THE TEMPLE (*New York. Frick Collection*) III

PORTRAIT OF VINCENTIO ANASTAGI (*New York. Frick Collection*) IV

PORTRAIT OF A LADY (*London. Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart.*) V

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN (*Chicago. The Art Institute*) VI

THE TRINITY (*Madrid. Museo del Prado*) VII

AND MONOGRAPHS

PLATE

PIETA (*New York. The Hispanic Society of America*) VIII

THE EXPOLIO (*Toledo. Cathedral*) IX

SAINT MAURICE (*Escorial. Salas Capitulares*) X

PORTRAIT OF AN OLD MAN (*Madrid. Don Aureliano de Beruete y Moret*) XI

PORTRAIT OF FERNANDO NIÑO DE GUEVARA (*New York. Havemeyer Collection*) XII

PORTRAIT OF FRAY HORTENSIO FELIX PARAVICINO Y ARTEAGA (*Boston. Museum of Fine Arts*) XIII

MINIATURE OF A MAN (*New York. The Hispanic Society of America*) XIV

MINIATURE OF A LADY (*New York. The Hispanic Society of America*) XV

THE BURIAL OF THE COUNT OF ORGAZ (*Toledo. Church of Santo Tomé*) XVI

CHRIST EMBRACING THE CROSS (*Madrid. Don Aureliano de Beruete y Moret*) XVII

THE CRUCIFIXION (*Paris. Musée National du Louvre*) XVIII

HISPANIC NOTES

PLATE

SAINT DOMINIC (*New York. The Hispanic Society of America*) XIX

SAINT JAMES THE GREAT (*New York. The Hispanic Society of America*)..... XX

SAINT JAMES THE GREAT (*New York. The Hispanic Society of America*)..... XXI

SAINT JEROME (*New York. The Hispanic Society of America*) XXII

HEAD OF SAINT FRANCIS (*New York. The Hispanic Society of America*)..... XXIII

SAINT LOUIS (*Paris. Musée National du Louvre*)..... XXIV

THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST (*Madrid. Museo del Prado*).... XXV

THE RESURRECTION (*Madrid. Museo del Prado*)..... XXVI

SAINT MARTIN AND THE BEGGAR (*Philadelphia. Widener Collection*) XXVII

GLORY OF PHILIP THE SECOND (*Escorial. Salas Capitulares*) XXVIII

PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL TAVERA (*Toledo. Church of the Hospital of San Juan Bautista* XXIX

AND MONOGRAPHS

PLATE

THE PRAYER IN THE GARDEN (*London. National Gallery*) XXX

THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS (*New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art*).. XXXI

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION (*Toledo. Church of San Vicente*) XXXII

THE OPENING OF THE FIFTH SEAL (*Paris. Don Ignacio Zuloaga y Zanora*)....XXXIII

LAOCOÖN (*Munich. Alte Pinakothek. On loan*) XXXIV

TOLEDO IN A STORM (*New York. Havemeyer Collection*)... XXXV

EL GRECO

EL GRECO

AND MONOGRAPHS

INTRODUCTION

THE GREEK OF TOLEDO

Unique in the history of art El Greco cannot be easily classified as belonging to any school. He has for that reason and many others remained a mystery, an unsolved riddle as puzzling to the artist as to the layman. We are concerned here, not so much with the technique of El Greco, which, after all, the pictures themselves best explain, as with the temperament of the artist, the effect his surroundings had upon him, the atmosphere in which he created his strange and beautiful pictures. Born on one of the Greek islands, educated in Renaissance Italy, and led by chance into the heart of Catholic Spain, he reveals in his works a forceful and disturbing personality.

Ignoring contemporary opinion, scornful of criticism, following no school, he stands alone, out of favour with King and Court, isolated by his genius, his independence, and his stormy spirit.

Quite comprehensible is his abandonment of the traditions of the Venetian school soon after his arrival in Spain, but inexplicable and mysterious are the mannerisms which he afterwards developed. It is this peculiar individualism which has caused the controversy as to whether he was mad, astigmatic, a disciple of the art of Byzantium, or a Toledan mystic. Visible to some extent in his earlier works these mannerisms become very marked as he reaches his last period. The most notable thing in this change is, perhaps, his tendency to lengthen certain of his figures until they are entirely out of proportion, mounting into the air like thin vapours. That El Greco had mastered the technique of figure drawing is not to be doubted. Why then did he resort to this deliberate

distortion of the human form? The question was answered after his death by the laconic designation "mad". Though this idea of his insanity persisted for many years as a popular belief, it is, of course, without foundation. Another solution of the problem has been suggested by the oculists, who now assert that the master was afflicted with astigmatism, a defect which grew upon him with his increasing years, altering his vision and causing him to draw figures of great height and slenderness.

El Greco's elongated, often emaciated personages, with their small heads, their garments falling in many folds, resemble closely the saints and apostles of Byzantine art, described by Dalton as follows: "The clearly outlined figures, their contours filled with colour boldly massed, possess a mystical and superhuman quality in presence of which anatomical defects appear of no account" (1). El Greco obtained this same result by his disregard of rules, by his elimination of

all trivial details, and by his method of detaching his figures from surroundings which might distract the eye. The Byzantine influence may be traced in *The Expolio* and *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz,* possibly the most important two pictures the artist ever painted. And so it may be seen that though admittedly Spanish in style he yet retained the heritage of the art of Byzantium left him by his Greek ancestors. As a child in Crete, as a youth in Venice, he must have been impressed by the great jewel-like domes of the churches gleaming through the dusk and incense. The figures, with their rich colouring and majestic simplicity, remained in his memory and influenced his hand. Is it surprising that isolated in the hills of Castilla he should sometimes have turned for inspiration to the religious symbolism associated with his youth, to the art and traditions of Crete and the Veneto-Byzantine palaces?

Another problem presents itself con-

cerning the effect of Spanish mysticism upon the artist. Señor Unamuno justly asserts that Spain passed through the Renaissance without allowing herself to become contaminated by its paganism and rationalism; that Castilian spirituality was mystic, unworldly, and mediæval; that El Greco, knowing the Italy of the Renaissance, perceived that Italian idealism was unfitted for Castilla and would be stifled in austere Toledo. He contrasts the "spirituality, concentrated, violent and tormented" of some of El Greco's works with the "pagan breath of the Italian Renaissance" (2).

El Greco expresses this spirit of mysticism when he portrays the grave Toledans contemplating with solemn rapture the glory appearing in the heavens above them, or the gentle Christ fervently embracing the cross held upright in His arms. His figures seem to soar into the air as though endeavouring to attain the felicity awaiting them among the clouds.

A strange contrast is presented in the artist's work, for although closely associated with Spanish mysticism he seems never to have escaped entirely from the formalism of his race.

I

BORN at Candia in the island of Crete, El Greco from his earliest youth came in contact with the Byzantine school. Without knowledge of the reason for or the date of his departure from Crete and his arrival in Venice, it is permissible to think that he chose Venice because of its colony of Greek artists who were following the Byzantine tradition. For many centuries before El Greco's arrival, Venice had taken her culture largely from Constantinople and the East. The Cathedral of Saint Mark was a fine example of Veneto-Byzantine art and many of the palaces along the Grand Canal showed traces of it in their façades. That a strong impression was made upon the mind of the young artist by contact in his own land and then in Venice with the rich art of Byzantium

is shown by the fact that years later in distant Toledo he reverted to it for inspiration. In comparison, the influence of the great Venetians, Titian, Tintoretto, and Bassano, left but a fleeting imprint upon his work. His sojourn in Venice was not of long duration, and Rome became his next goal.

The one authentic document in regard to El Greco's life during this period is a letter from Julio Clovio, the miniaturist, to his patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who was noted for his love of art and literature. It was in the Roman palace of this illustrious member of the Farnese family that El Greco probably spent several years of his life. In the letter, dated November 16th, 1570, it appears that El Greco, who is spoken of as "a young Candian, a pupil of Titian", came to Rome, where he painted a portrait of himself. The painters of Rome were much astonished by this work. Clovio requests his patron to provide for the young artist a room in the Farnese

Palace for a short time, that is until he can establish himself (3).

Julio Clovio was in Rome in 1569, an old man broken in health. It was probably about this time that El Greco painted the portrait of him described by Justi:

"In this portrait the painter is seated in front of a plain wall, at the left of an open window; with the forefinger of his right hand he points to an open book, which he holds in his other hand, and in which one can see two miniatures; the theme recalls Titian's *Strada.* Perhaps this book might be the *Office of the Madonna,* a work which took nine years of labour, and was painted for the Cardinal . . . The face shows a broad, high forehead, surrounded by gray hair combed back, an energetic aquiline nose, and brown eyes. These features, as well as the hands, are of a modeling as fine as it is expressive. The delicate yellow tonality of the skin and the drawing recall Tintoretto most of all.

Through the open window one sees a landscape swept by wind, full of light and air and glowing in the warm tones of a late afternoon, blue sky, distant mountains, swiftly moving clouds touched with gold; in the foreground a frail tree budding with green sprouts" (4).

Both this canvas and the genre of a boy lighting a candle were at one time attributed to Clovio. Originally in the Farnese Collection they are now in the *Museo Nazionale* at Naples.

In regard to the portrait of Clovio an interesting document was published in the *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1884, v. I.), giving an inventory of the art collection of Fulvio Orsini, who died in 1600. It is thought that the following numbers refer to works done by El Greco in Italy:

" 'No. 39. A picture framed in walnut with a landscape of Mount Sinai, by the hand of a Greek, a pupil of Titian .....10 (*escudos*)

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

Vienna. Kaiserliche Gemaldegalerie

" '43. A picture framed in walnut engraved with a portrait of don Giulio miniaturist, by the hand of the above mentioned Greco ..... 20.

" '44. A little picture framed in walnut with gold with the portrait of a young man in a red biretta, by the hand of the same ..... 5.

" '45. Four circulars of copper with the portrait of cardinal Farnese, S. Angelo, Bessarione cardinal, and Pope Marcèllo, by the hand of the same ..... 10'" (5).

The circular portrait on copper of Cardinal Farnese is of special interest. Unfortunately no trace of it has been found, nor can any of the works listed in the inventory be identified with any certainty.

The same Farnese family who protected the young Greek were the patrons of Cellini, though they found it expedient on occasion to place him for safe keeping in the Castle of Sant'Angelo. Cellini's *Autobiography* describes the

Rome of the years just preceding the arrival of El Greco. Michael Angelo, whose death occurred only a short time before El Greco came to Rome, designed the court in the Farnese Palace, that court described by Vasari as the finest in Europe. It was probably in this magnificent palace that El Greco painted the three pictures which show most clearly the influence of the Venetian school upon his work. The first of these, *The Healing of the Blind* (Dresden. *Gemäldegalerie*), was for a long time attributed to Leandro Bassano, the resemblance between the early works of El Greco and those of the Venetian master being very great. The composition of this painting and that of El Greco's beautiful *Adoration of the Magi* (Vienna. *Kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie.* Plate I) conform to the best traditions of the cinquecento Venetians. They are both pervaded by a feeling of spaciousness, a calm and tranquil beauty.

A comparison of the various replicas

Photograph D. Anderson, Rome

THE PURIFICATION OF THE TEMPLE

Richmond. Sir Frederick Cook

of *The Purification of the Temple* is of extreme importance because they show the inexplicable change which took place in the artist's manner of painting. The Cook (Plate II) and Yarborough examples were probably painted during his first years in Rome. Those in the Frick Collection (Plate III) and the National Gallery belong to a later period. The first two paintings might be attributed to Veronese or Tintoretto, so characteristic are they of the Venetian school. In the last two examples the great columns of the stately palace seem to recede and lose their distinct outlines, becoming merely a background for the dynamic figures of Christ and the merchants. All the conventional paraphernalia of dove cages and books have vanished. Under the arches at the right appears the figure of a woman, slender and exquisite, her left arm raised in a graceful curve as she balances a basket upon her head; her right foot advances and she seems to sway forward. She is prophetic of

101148

that spiritual type which El Greco was to develop later to such perfection. What a contrast to the opulent charms of the Venetian women of the earlier replicas with their uninteresting poses, their studied grace, and conventionally arranged draperies!

Dating from this early period is the splendid full-length painting of Vincentio Anastagi, governor of Città Vecchia during the siege of Malta (New York. Frick Collection. Plate IV). Anastagi is clad in half armour, on the breastplate of which is the white cross of the knights of Saint John of Jerusalem. He wears full knee breeches of green velvet ornamented with gold stripes, and white ruffs at his neck and wrists. His buff-coloured shoes are adorned with small brown bows, and his stockings are white. From his side is suspended a sword with a gilded hilt. The light from a window in the upper left-hand corner of the picture accentuates the shining armour covering his

left shoulder and gives it a green tone, placing the whole figure in a harmony of greens. A high light is also reflected from the morion on the floor. In the background is a dark red curtain draped across a light brown wall. The face with its brown eyes, dark beard, and mustache resembles in type many of the portraits painted by the artist at a later date.

The portrait of El Greco mentioned in Clovio's letter to Cardinal Farnese has disappeared, but another painting probably belonging to these years is that of an old man with piercing dark eyes and a long white beard which has been variously identified as Cardinal Gaspar Quiroga, archbishop of Toledo, as Luigi Cornaro, author of the famous *Discorsi della vita sobria,* and as Saint Jerome. The latter attribution seems to be the only safe one, as a comparison with authentic portraits of Quiroga and Cornaro proves. Of the five examples of this portrait the signed one in the

Frick Collection is the most important.

Beruete describes the portrait, in the Stirling-Maxwell Collection (Plate V), erroneously known as *The Daughter of El Greco,* as follows:

"This work has caused many doubts and controversies among the critics. They agree only upon its beauty and merit. The doubts refer especially to its authenticity. While some consider it without doubt a Greco, others think it is only a Venetian work, and we are forced to recognize that the characteristics of this school are very marked and definite in this portrait, that no one but a Venetian, and I even believe that it might be stated definitely Tintoretto himself, was the author of the work. The colouring is very different from that peculiar to El Greco even in these early years, and above all that touch, peculiarly his, that restless brush stroke, nervous, vacillating, incorrect if you wish, but very expressive and very peculiar,

Courtesy of the Frick Reference Library, New York

THE PURIFICATION OF THE TEMPLE

New York. Frick Collection

does not appear here anywhere. The portrait of this lady, indeed, has a great analogy with the works of El Greco, at least in its external part; that close resemblance which this painter has to the Venetians, his masters and early inspiration" (6).

Why did El Greco leave Italy for Spain? Is it possible that Cardinal Farnese told him of that summer spent in Spain when at the age of nineteen he was sent there on a diplomatic mission by Paul the Third? Or that Clovio, old and infirm, himself unable to accept the invitation of Philip the Second to work at the Escorial, encouraged the young artist to try his fortunes at the Court of the Spanish monarch?

II

"Esta es, Señora, la imperial Toledo,
Que el Tajo de cristal á sus piés tiene,
Y parece que en sombras se detiene" (7).

Lifted high upon the crest of a great cliff, barren and beautiful, Toledo rises like a mirage from the plains of Castilla. At her feet the blue Tajo flows beneath ancient bridges. Above the closely massed roof tops appears the grim form of the Alcázar. The narrow streets turn and twist bringing up suddenly against the great walls of the Cathedral or leading to the entrance of some Arabic mosque. Through doorways glimpses of enchanting patios reveal the half-Moorish life of the people. Crossing the wide square of the *Zocodover* one passes under the Archway of the

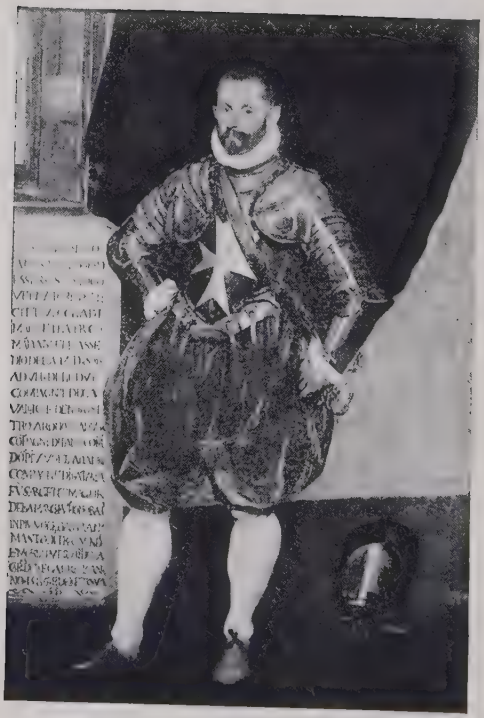
Blood of Christ and so to the *Posada de la Sangre,* the inn which Cervantes has made famous. Across the city in a direct line from this inn is the *Paseo del Tránsito* on the edge of the cliff overlooking the ravine of the Tajo. Facing this paseo is the *Casa del Greco,* vine-covered and with terraced gardens.

Many legends are associated with this house. It was originally the palace of the rich Jew, Samuel Levy, who lived in the stirring times of Peter the Cruel, and who is supposed to have concealed his treasures within its vaults. According to tradition the same storing place was used later for the laboratories of alchemy and sorcery of Don Enrique de Aragón, popularly known as the Marquis of Villena. There has been some discussion as to whether the building, restored and presented to the Government by the Marquis of Vega-Inclán, is actually where El Greco lived or if his home was situated in another part of the *Paseo del Tránsito.*

The house has an inner court with a wooden gallery supported upon pillars. From this patio a covered stairway leads to the small apartments on the upper floor. In the little kitchen, with its brightly coloured tiles and shelf of old cookbooks, is a huge chimney piece. From the upper gardens and terraces there is an extensive view of the hills where once the high dignitaries of the richest cathedral in Spain owned country houses called *cigarrales*.

Here among gardens of flowers, rare fruits, and shade-giving trees they created an atmosphere of repose and culture not unlike that known to the fifteenth century Florentines. These prelates were the Medici of this proud Castilian town, patrons of art and learning, generous with the rich spoils which came to them. Not only were the archbishops interested in art and literature, but many of the priests were noted dramatists and poets. Here Lope de Vega presided at a contest called poetical joustings, in

PLATE IV



PORTRAIT OF VINCENTIO ANASTAGI

New York. Frick Collection

1605. Mariana, the distinguished author of the *Historia de España,* and an important member of the Jesuit order, established himself here in 1574.

It was in Toledo at the *Posada de la Sangre* that Cervantes wrote the *Ilustre fregona* (*ca.* 1606) celebrating the virtues of a Toledan maid. He describes her in these words: "She confesses and communicates monthly, she can write and read, and there is no greater lace-worker in Toledo, she sings without accompaniment like an angel. . . ." (8). Another contemporary of El Greco, Francisco Pisa, writes of the beauty and honesty of the women and the ability and industry of the men; their devotion to the Christian religion ". . . which is proved by the great frequency . . . with which they listened to sermons and masses . . . making it seem as though Holy Week lasted all through the year" (9). He gives an enchanting picture of Toledo, writing of the fresh and subtle breezes which cooled the city, the

clear and serene sky, and the sweet waters of the Tajo.

Toledo had absorbed the art of Christian and Arab alike. The mosque of *El Cristo de la Luz,* the synagogue of *Santa María la Blanca,* the Gothic Cathedral of the Christian were all representative of the architecture of the many races which dwelt together within her walls. She gave them refuge, wayfarers from other lands, but in return, she, the Imperial City, demanded of them the best in their art; they must embellish her narrow streets with buildings of beauty and dignity. She cast a charm over mosque and synagogue until they seemed part of her, built for her adornment, no longer expressive of an alien civilization.

Did she not have the same effect upon El Greco, a stranger from a far country, forcing him to reveal the soul of her people, to depict her hillsides in their austere loveliness?

So little is known of El Greco's tastes and preferences that it is interesting to

come upon an inventory of his possessions and to discover that he had a good library of Greek books including copies of Homer, Aristotle, and Plutarch. He seems to have brought many books from Italy, among them editions of Tasso, Petrarch, and Ariosto. He had, besides, as many volumes of romance in his library as had Don Quixote. Pacheco testifies to El Greco's learning when he writes:

". . . in our century there are many learned men, not only in painting, but in the Humanities . . . like Micael Angel, by whom we can read many compositions in verse, Leonardo de Vinci, El Broncino, Iorge Vasari, and Dominico Greco, who was a great philosopher, of witty sayings, who wrote about painting, sculpture, and architecture" (10).

In Spain his name was abbreviated to El Greco, although he continued to sign documents and many of his pictures with varying forms of his Greek name.

Doménicos Theotocópoulos.

Borja de San Román states that El Greco left Italy under contract to paint the pictures for the Church of *Santo Domingo el Antiguo* in Toledo, basing his opinion upon the fact that in a lawsuit over *The Expolio* it appeared that El Greco came to Toledo to do work upon the *retablo* of this church. But in this same lawsuit El Greco asserts that he is not obliged to say why he came to the city of Toledo.

A pious woman by the name of Doña María de Silva had left a sum of money for the purpose of demolishing the old building and erecting this new church. She named as her executor Don Diego de Castilla. Documents lately discovered prove that, contrary to the prevalent opinion, it was Juan de Herrera, and not Vergara or El Greco, who was the architect of this church.

This *retablo* of *Santo Domingo el Antiguo* raises the question as to whether El Greco was ever an architect

PLATE V

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

London. Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart.

or sculptor. Borja de San Román thinks it most unlikely and gives among many reasons the logical one that not one of his contemporaries mentions him as belonging to either profession, adding that it was only after his death that they were attributed to him. A contract, dated September 11th, 1577, between Don Diego de Castilla and Juan Bautista Monegro, a sculptor of Toledo, proves that though El Greco made the sketches for the three *retablos* and the five statues, they were actually executed by Monegro. Señor Lampérez y Romea disagrees with any statement which denies that El Greco was an architect. He brings forward as proof in support of his opinion the fact that the *retablo* shows traces of Italian influence, that the artist's son was an architect, that he had in his library nineteen books on architecture, and other reasons equally unconvincing.

Whether or not one agrees with the assertion of Señor Lampérez y Romea

that the *retablo* of *Santo Domingo el Antiguo* introduced into Spain a type of altarpiece popular in Venice when El Greco was there, it is certain that its central painting, *The Assumption* (Plate VI), has strong Venetian accents. The composition as a whole recalls the Assumptions of Titian and Tintoretto. The Virgin is very similar as with outstretched arms she floats upon clouds surrounded by angels. She has great dignity, even majesty, but her face is lacking in expression, and her heavy and voluminous robes seem to hold her down to earth. She has not ascended far above the apostles, who, gathered about her empty tomb, seem to be discussing matters of interest to themselves, showing little astonishment at the miracle taking place above them. It is only upon remembering an *Immaculate Conception* painted by El Greco not many years before his death that one realizes all the spiritual force that is lacking in this picture. The other

Virgin is a mystic being soaring upwards through clouds of glory, her body like a torch burning in a steady flame of adoration, her exalted expression almost painful in its fervour.

The Assumption of *Santo Domingo,* which is signed and dated 1577, is no longer in the church for which it was painted. It has been placed in The Art Institute at Chicago. Cossío asserts that above this canvas was originally *The Trinity* (now in the Prado) (Plate VII) and not *The Adoration of the Shepherds* which has taken its place. The latter picture has all the mannerisms of the last period of the artist's work while *The Trinity* reveals its relationship with Italy. It is interesting to note that Ribera painted a Trinity which was certainly influenced, as regards composition, by this one. A full-length painting of Saint John the Baptist is on the left side of the *retablo* and *Saint John the Evangelist,* another figure of heroic proportions, is on the right.

Above them were *Saint Benedict* and *Saint Bernard* (now replaced by copies). Cossío is certainly mistaken when he dates the Prado *Saint Benedict* as 1584-94. It is probably the original painted for *Santo Domingo el Antiguo,* as a comparison with its companion piece, *Saint Bernard,* goes to prove. The pediment is broken by two figures of cherubs holding a medallion bearing a painting of *The Holy Face. The Resurrection* painted for a side altar at the left, and still in place, shows Italian influence. A *Veronica* and an *Adoration of the Shepherds* are upon side altars.

Two small paintings have also been assigned to this early period. One is *The Annunciation* in the Prado, the other the *Pietà* in the collection of The Hispanic Society of America (Plate VIII). *The Annunciation* is more Italian than Spanish in sentiment with its graceful kneeling Madonna, its Angel Gabriel floating upon clouds, and its

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THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

Chicago. The Art Institute

cherubs. Once again, and perhaps for the last time, El Greco uses as a background the long vistas, the archways, and tiled pavements so characteristically Venetian.

The *Pietà* also adheres to the traditions of Italy, conforming closely to the composition used by Michael Angelo in his *Entombment* (Florence. *Duomo*). A group of four intertwined figures stands out against a blue sky, overcast with gray clouds which are suffused with a faint pink glow. The central figure is the dead Christ, supported on His left side by Saint John robed in green-blue and white, and on His right by Mary Magdalene clad in yellow, carmine, and blue. Behind the figure of the Christ can be seen the head and shoulders of the Virgin, draped in blue, part of her red tunic visible. Across a brown landscape is a hill on which stand three crosses, half veiled in overhanging clouds. Cossío says of this painting:

"The *Piedad* is a small picture full of

intense dramatic interest, conceived and executed in the heroic spirit of the time; with the same severe Virgin as in *The Annunciation,* but with an expression heart-rending in its grief; the same angels and the same Christ as in *The Trinity,* but of more tragic aspect; the same tonality as in both paintings, but with more carmine reflections; and with an execution more feverish and much less careful" (11).

To this period belongs one of the most important works painted by El Greco. In the book of expenses of the Cathedral of Toledo it is stated that on July 2nd, 1577, he received 13,600 *maravedís* on account for a picture which he was to paint for the sacristy of the Cathedral. The picture was *The Expolio* (Plate IX), and it is still in the place for which it was painted. Mélida compares *The Expolio* with a twelfth century Byzantine mosaic in the Cathedral of Monreale, Sicily. The composition is, indeed, similar. In the painting as in

the mosaic, the Christ is the central figure facing directly towards the spectator; behind Him is a surging multitude who seem to press forward, crowding about Him. Above the heads of the mob are the spears of the Roman soldiers outlined against the sky. This motive which appears also in the mosaic was used by El Greco not only in *The Expolio* but in the *Saint Maurice*. It would be interesting to establish a connection between these various examples and the famous *Surrender of Breda* by Velázquez. In the mosaic the figures form a compact mass arranged in symmetrical rows. In the painting the treatment is, naturally, less formal and archaic, more realistic. In the left-hand corner of the canvas the three women watch with interest the man who is boring a hole in the wood of the cross. The noble and resigned face of the Christ is in strong contrast to the angry, mocking expressions of those about Him. In the crowd are men with heavy, brutal

features, wrinkled brows, half-parted, jeering lips, a type of face made familiar by the painters of the Netherlands in their representations of the Passion.

Sentenach, after praising *The Expolio* as the most perfect work ever painted by El Greco, goes on to explain how the artist solved the numerous colour problems which were presented:

"Knowing the different effects of warm and cold colours, he knew how to imitate nature in this, that he places safe reds and yellows in the foreground, veiling the most distant in a blue haze in which they are shaded the better to aid the perspective. This is well observed in the admirable *Expolio,* in which the planes are graduated by means of the tones, reserving for the figure of the Saviour the vivid red of His tunic, which draws the attention from the first moment and which detaches Him from all the other numerous personages who surround Him" (12).

In 1579 it was necessary to value this

PLATE VII

Photograph D. Anderson, Rome

THE TRINITY

Madrid. Museo del Prado

painting. Nicolás de Vergara and Luis de Velasco were named by the Cathedral Chapter, Diego Martínez de Castañeda and Baltasar de Castro Cimbrón by El Greco, so that each side was represented by a sculptor and a painter. The appraisers on El Greco's side declared that it was so fine a picture that it was beyond all price but that considering the hard times and the estimation in which such works were held, it was worth 900 *ducados* (13). On the other hand the representatives of the Chapter considered that the price placed on the picture was excessive, that it was worth only 2,500 *reales* because the subject had not been treated according to Biblical history. They cited as their chief objection the fact that the three Marys had been brought into the scene, which was not according to the scriptural text.

As neither side could come to an agreement the decision was left to an arbitrator, Alejo de Montoya, a silversmith, who ordered that the Chapter pay

El Greco 3,500 *reales* and who left the impropriety of the presence of the three Marys for the learned theologians to settle.

Although notified of this decision El Greco delayed his response, and the Chapter became anxious. Suddenly they realized that this Greek, a stranger in their city, had not only the picture in his possession but all the money which they had paid him on account. They hastened to assure him that if he would make the required changes in the painting all could be arranged to his satisfaction. They even appealed to the alcalde of Toledo to force El Greco to comply with the decision of the arbitrator. The artist admitted that he had received the money, that he was not a native, and that he did not understand Castilian very well. As he was a stranger, he was asked to give security and, at last, he was threatened with imprisonment. The result was that the Chapter waited two years

before they paid him the full sum. Like Michael Angelo El Greco knew the worth of his masterpieces. He held out stubbornly against any effort on the part of their purchasers to depreciate their value. Above all, he refused to change any details, so that the three women remain in the foreground in spite of the scandalized objections of the Chapter.

El Greco then began the *retablo* for *The Expolio,* receiving various sums on account as the work progressed. On February 20th, 1587, it was valued by Esteban Jordán for El Greco and by Sebastián Hernández and Diego de Aguilar for the Cathedral Chapter. The price paid for the *retablo* was higher than that paid for the picture. In 1601 Cardinal Sandoval y Rojas described the *retablo* as a " . . . decoration of pilasters, pedestals, capitals, and façades, all gilded; and on the base some sculptured figures also gilded, which represent Our Lady bestowing the chasuble upon

Saint Ildefonso" (14). As late as 1790 the *retablo* was seen by Cardinal Lorenzana, but since then it has been replaced by one of marble and bronze. If the group, which is now in the Cathedral, of the Virgin and Saint Ildefonso identified by Lafond and Cossío as the one in the *Seminario* is authentic, then El Greco must be considered as a sculptor of small figures in wood.

In the next few years the artist's work was to extend beyond Toledo to where Philip the Second dwelt in the grim Escorial.

III

"King Philip's in his closet with the
Fleece about his neck
(Don John of Austria is armed upon the deck.)
The walls are hung with velvet that is black and soft as sin,
And little dwarfs creep out of it and little dwarfs creep in" (15).

Among the foothills of the mountain range which divides Old and New Castilla is the Escorial — palace, tomb, and monastery. Seen from a distance this enormous pile of gray stone is very impressive. Constructed of granite from a nearby quarry it seems part of the rocky Sierra de Guadarrama which rises like a wall behind it. With its severe architectural lines and its innumerable small windows it is like a fortress built to defend a mountain pass.

Characteristic of its founder, the Escorial expresses the religious fanaticism, the sombre and isolated soul of that melancholy descendant of the Hapsburgs: Philip the Second. According to tradition it was built by Philip to fulfill a vow made on Saint Laurence's Day at the Battle of Saint Quentin. The first stone for the Escorial was laid on April 23rd, 1563. The architects were Juan Bautista de Toledo, and, after his death, Juan de Herrera.

The following account given by Fray José de Sigüenza, prior of the monastery in the time of Philip the Second, is interesting because it reveals the spirit of the times (16). He relates that when the King wished to choose a good site he sent a group of his subjects to a place in the Sierra de Guadarrama. While they were yet climbing upward a violent wind arose doing much damage and causing them to believe that it was sent by the Devil.

PLATE VIII

PIETA

New York. The Hispanic Society of America

who was in a rage that they should plan to erect a strong building in which to make war with him, since in other parts of the world so many princes were destroying churches and ridiculing the relics of the saints. The souls of those who had come to explore the ground were dismayed and saddened by this tempest. But upon hearing their misgivings the religious members of the company, being men experienced in combats with the Devil, urged them forward. As they mounted and the air became milder, they were pleased with the chosen site. Another day brought a letter from the King entreating them not to be astonished by the tempest as also in Madrid there had been a strong wind. They all marveled at the care and thought of His Majesty, judging that he was entering into the negotiations with much fervour. This minute attention to detail was typical of Philip's attitude during the building and decoration of

the Escorial.

The King imported a vast army of foreign craftsmen, most of them from Italy, to assist in this tremendous undertaking; the work of the Italian painters was on the whole disappointing as they were men of mediocre ability. Only by purchasing the pictures of Titian, Veronese, and other masters of the Venetian school was he able to obtain the best examples of Italian art. Spanish painting was influenced to a great extent by this invasion just as it had been a century earlier by the art of the Netherlands. In far-off Estremadura, Morales was painting exquisite Italian Madonnas and tragic Pietàs. At Toledo Luis de Velasco, Blas de Prado, and Luis de Carbajal, like their compatriots in Andalucía, became exponents of the new manner so much in favour at court. Rome and not Venice was the source from which the school of Andalucía drew its inspiration. Many of the

native artists went to Rome to study, admiring especially the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo, returning to Sevilla thoroughly imbued with the Italian spirit. One of the first of these was Luis de Vargas, whose altarpiece *The Genealogy of Christ* can be compared with the works of Raphael. Besides Pedro de Campaña, who painted in the Italian manner, there was Pablo de Céspedes of Córdoba, a poet, architect, and sculptor, as well as a painter, who had spent many years in Italy. Among these Spanish followers of the Italian school was one called the *Tiziano español,* Juan Fernández Navarrete, *el Mudo,* who alone was a disciple of the Venetians. Lope de Vega sang his praises in the *Laurel de Apolo.* He died at Toledo about two years after El Greco's arrival there.

The influence of the Netherlands rather than that of Italy was paramount in the work of the portrait painters of this period. From the

canvases of Antonio Moro, Sánchez Coello, and Pantoja de la Cruz the sombre faces of Philip and the royal family gaze forth. These three artists were great favourites with the King and one owes to them the long line of portraits, excellently handled, though with a treatment stiff and conventional, which illustrates a whole period of Spanish history. In these paintings the women, in their gowns of rich materials trimmed with gold and silver galloon, wear enormous lace-edged ruffs and jewelry of heavy design. The men in armour or court costume are dignified, melancholy, and defiant. Here stands Don John of Austria, a lion crouched at his feet; here the sickly Prince Don Carlos, decked in plumes and ermine, rests one hand upon his jeweled sword-hilt. Among many illustrious personages are seen the stern-visaged Mary Tudor, Isabel of the Peace, adorned with pearls, and the famous Duke of Alba in the armour which he wore in

THE EXPOLIO

Toledo. Cathedral

many a combat. Philip the Second appears as a young man, at the time of his marriage to Mary Tudor, dignified and almost handsome; later, a dismal figure clad in black, the Philip of the Escorial.

It has been suggested that El Greco was brought to the notice of the King by Pompeo Leoni, an Italian sculptor, who was dividing his time between Toledo and the Escorial. This theory is based on the fact that El Greco painted, supposedly at this period, a portrait of Leoni at work on a marble bust of Philip. As the identity of this portrait cannot be established with any certainty it seems more probable that El Greco was introduced by Monegro, who had worked in close connection with him on the *retablo* of *Santo Domingo el Antiguo,* and who was a favourite with Philip.

In 1579 El Greco was commissioned by His Majesty to paint a picture of Saint Maurice and his companions

(Plate X) to adorn an altar in the Church of the Escorial. In a royal order dated April 25th, 1580, the King directs the venerable prior of the monastery to give to the artist, who for lack of money and fine colours was unable to continue his work, the colours that he needed, especially ultramarine, and to see that he was paid on account the money that he required, saying characteristically, " . . . because in my service it is fitting that things be done with as much quickness as possible. . ." (17).

When the painting was completed it did not find favour with the monarch. He refused to place it on the altar for which it had been ordered, selecting instead a picture on the same subject by Romulo Cincinnato, an Italian painter of very inferior merit. That even in El Greco's time his picture caused contention among the critics is shown by the following quotation from Sigüenza:

PLATE X

Photograph D. Anderson, Rome

SAINT MAURICE

Escorial. Salas Capitulares

"Of a certain Dominico Greco, who now lives and does excellent things in Toledo, there remained here a picture of Saint Maurice and his soldiers, which he did for the altar of this saint; it did not content His Majesty (it is no wonder) because it pleased few people, though some said it was great art, and that its author knows much, and that this is seen in the excellent things by his hand" (18).

It is not difficult to understand that the composition of this painting, with its two distinct scenes overcrowded with figures, was bewildering to the eyes of the Spaniards who were accustomed to have the martyrdoms of their saints portrayed in a much simpler manner. For a clear understanding of El Greco's intention in presenting the story, it is necessary to recall the legend of Saint Maurice and the Theban legion. The martyrdom is supposed to have taken place a few leagues from the shores of Lake Geneva, where part

of the Roman army had halted on its march into Gaul. Among the legions was one composed entirely of Christians and commanded by Maurice, a Christian of noble birth. Refusing to obey the Emperor's commands to sacrifice to the gods and to fight against their fellow believers, the whole legion suffered martyrdom.

The artist has divided his composition into two separate groups. Saint Maurice is the central figure in both. In the foreground of the painting several men are engaged in conversation. In spite of his fantastic costume the figure of the saint is not without dignity. His expression is of great nobility, his large dark eyes gaze reproachfully at the Roman who faces him. Behind Saint Maurice are grouped his soldiers, no Theban legion but good citizens of Toledo, their portraits painted with care and accuracy. To the right is the standard bearer, a splendid figure in his pseudo-Roman

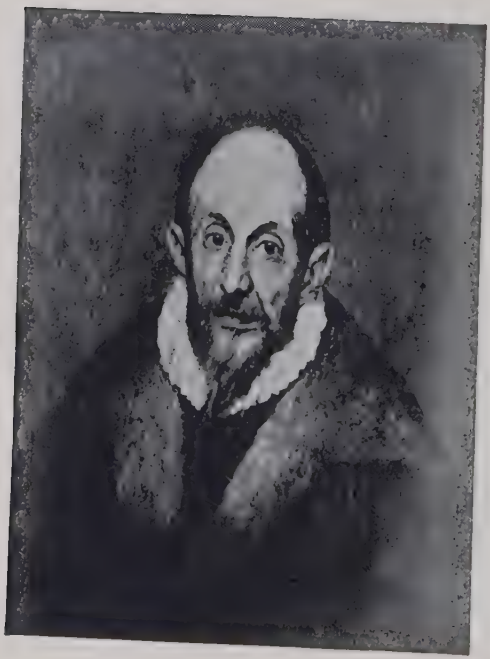
armour. His right hand is extended, the fingers slightly bent in the expressive gesture that El Greco was so fond of using. Above his head the heavy folds of a banner lift to the breeze. The light from a glory in the heavens flashes upon the steel of the halberds outlining them against a dark sky. To the left, in the middle foreground, is the scene of the martyrdom. Here the figures are drawn on a much smaller scale but with great care for detail. As the executioner does his work Saint Maurice receives into his own hands the heads of his faithful legion. The soldiers extend in a winding line far into the background, their banners unfurled as they advance to the last sacrifice. Lances rise against a hill upon which are small white buildings. Heavy clouds hang above the horizon. From the radiance in the sky long shafts of light descend upon the martyrs. Floating upon the swirling clouds are angels with wreaths and

palms of victory, as beautiful as those angels painted a century earlier by Melozzo da Forlì. In the lower right-hand corner of the picture a snake holds in its mouth a white paper upon which is the artist's signature in Greek letters.

El Greco did not again come into contact with the King and the Court, but he appeared before the Inquisition at Toledo in 1562 as the interpreter for Miguel Rizo Carcandil, or Calandil. In the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* the following information is obtained: "'Dominico Teotocopoli, a native of the city of Candia, a painter resident in this city, who swears to interpret well and faithfully that which passes in this audience. . .'" (19).

During this period El Greco painted the portrait of a man of about thirty years of age, which is now in the Prado, known as the *Caballero de la Mano al Pecho.* This portrait is easily recognizable as belonging to the

PLATE XI



PORTRAIT OF AN OLD MAN

Madrid. Don Aureliano de Beruete y Moret

first Toledan period. Beruete sees in the romantic figure of this unknown caballero the type of the nobles of the Court of Philip the Second. Ignoring the dramatic events which took place in their time they were concerned only with the salvation of their souls.

Of interest also is the *Portrait of a Doctor* in the same collection. He is represented as an elderly man clad in black, with white ruffs at his neck and wrists. The fact that he wears a large ring on his thumb is probably the reason that he has been known as a doctor, for according to Quevedo's description medical men wore "'a finger-ring on the thumb, with a stone so large, that when the pulse was taken the patient thought of his tombstone'" (20). Allende-Salazar and Sánchez Cantón offer the suggestion that this is Rodrigo de la Fuente, a doctor who lived in Toledo in the time of El Greco. A comparison of this portrait with one of Doctor de la Fuente discovered by

Rodríguez Marín shows that there is some basis for the supposition. In a literary controversy held in Toledo in 1587 Doctor de la Fuente appears as a Latin poet, receiving as a prize a finger-ring of small emeralds. Cervantes mentions him in the *Ilustre fregona* as the most famous doctor in Toledo.

The portrait supposed to be that of the Duke of Benavente in the *Musée Bonnat,* Bayonne, portrays him with black hair, pointed mustache, and olive complexion. A sinister glance from his dark eyes reminds one that the fires of the Inquisition were still burning. An interesting contrast to this masterful but repellent portrait is that of the benign old gentleman with the quizzical expression known as Cardinal Gaspar Quiroga (Munich. *Alte Pinakothek*).

In the collection of Señor Beruete y Moret is a portrait of an elderly person considered by many to represent the artist himself (Plate XI). As no

PLATE XII

PORTRAIT OF FERNANDO NIÑO DE GUEVARA

New York. Havemeyer Collection

inconvenient evidence has yet been discovered it is unnecessary to see in this weary and embittered old man the creator of some of the most brilliantly original paintings in the history of art. His emaciated body seems lost in the fur-trimmed garment which envelops him. The white ruff only accentuates his wan face, high forehead, and pointed beard. His melancholy eyes gaze upon the follies of the world from a great distance.

Sentenach justly analyzes these portraits when he writes:

"El Greco, as a portrait painter, is indeed insuperable. No one has offered to us as he has, such expressive images of the persons whom he had to place upon canvas; in them indeed he showed that he knew how to recognize and appreciate all the anatomical and asymmetric variations which characterize and differentiate faces, and, what is more, the racial character, and temperament of those men . . .

"In the simple and sober portraits, devoid of all useless detail, he succeeded in simplifying his treatment of the most expressive and characteristic points. The racial type and the illustrious and chivalrous character of these personages were immortalized by his brush with touches of supreme mastery" (21).

It would be difficult to prove that the *Portrait of an Artist* in the *Museo Provincial,* Sevilla, represents either El Greco or his son. The face framed in the enormous white ruff is that of a young man with delicate features. In his hand he holds a palette and brushes.

Of the portrait of Fernando Niño de Guevara in the Havemeyer Collection (Plate XII) Beruete writes:

"This prince of the Church, a Toledan by birth, of aristocratic lineage, a famous inquisitor, El Greco has represented to us with an ostentation and pomp which one rarely encounters in the series of portraits which we owe to

his hand. It is a marvel of colour, and if there are evident in it the gray tonalities, so characteristic of the painter, they are here necessarily and premeditatedly modified by the domination of the red tone of the costume outlined against the chair of red velvet. Such a display of colour is compensated for by the white lace, seen wherever possible. The personality and expression of this person who looks at us through his spectacles is one sign more of the realistic vigour which El Greco knew how to give to the countenances which he portrayed. In a careful study of that which Velázquez learned from El Greco, a great part would be occupied by a comparison between this work and that immortal portrait which Velázquez did in Rome of Pope Innocent X. It shows clearly how much the Sevillian painter learned from the Greek in regard to technique, in connection with his manner of observing life and, above all, in the colouring and general

tonalities. It would not be so, on the other hand, in that which refers to the conception of the work, for while in Velázquez all is serene, thought out, classic in every sense of the word, in the work of El Greco that which most attracts the attention is the lack of tranquillity, the movement, the negation of all rules" (22).

The portrait with the romantic title, *The Lady of the Flower,* is in Scotland in the possession of Stirling-Maxwell. As in representations of royal personages her hair is drawn back from her forehead and rolled high upon her head, but in place of the plumes and pearl ornaments which formed the elaborate coiffures of the women of the court she wears a single star-shaped flower. The extreme simplicity of her costume, the transparent white headdress, the pale green flower in her dark hair, all combine in producing a singularly effective frame for her narrow oval face, arched brows, and large dark eyes.

Society of America. One of them, the portrait of a man (Plate XIV), is reminiscent of those other unknown cavaliers who gaze down from the walls of the Prado. The same sombre garb is surmounted by a stiff white ruff, and the one lock of hair is arranged in the middle of a high forehead. The mustache and beard are cut in a similar manner. The portrait shows a man but little past the prime of life; traces of light brown are still visible in his dark mustache and beard, his olive complexion has a ruddy glow, his black eyes are large and penetrating. The delicate brush strokes, the exquisite handling of each minute detail betray the accomplished miniaturist. In this distinguished piece of work it is evident that El Greco benefited by his contact in Rome with the famous Julio Clovio. This portrait which Venturi attributes to the last period is signed. The other portrait is that of a Spanish lady (Plate XV). Like the infantas in the

paintings by Pantoja de la Cruz and Sánchez Coello she has a disdainful air. The enormous lace ruff, the rich jewelry, the exaggerated headdress all proclaim her a lady of the court. Her face is a pale oval. Her lips are scarlet. Her red-brown hair is piled high and adorned by a jeweled ornament. The brown eyes are scornful and a little crafty. Her nose is aquiline and her chin pointed. Something about her expression recalls that of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia in the Prado portrait by Liaño.

A genre painting known as *The Family of El Greco* belongs to a period earlier than that of the portraits just described. For several reasons its authenticity must be doubted. The picture has no analogy with his other works, with the possible exception of an unsigned genre painted in Rome during his early years. The painter of the mystical Assumptions and Annunciations was opposed by his very temperament

to painting genre subjects. It seems strange that the work should have been assigned to this century as genre painting was not cultivated in Spain and Italy, to any extent, until a much later date. If El Greco painted this family group the awkwardness of the composition reveals that the artist was unfamiliar with this type of subject. The painting is long and narrow, and the heads of the persons depicted are arranged in a stiff row almost on a level with each other. The contours of the faces are rounded, having the full outline characteristic of the Flemish school. In the centre of the group is a young woman sewing. From her costume she is thought to be the mistress of the house. On the left is a serving maid holding a distaff. Behind her a solemn cat gazes thoughtfully into space. On the right is an old woman wearing a close-fitting headdress and spectacles. Another serving maid holds a baby who wears a lace-edged apron and a minute

PLATE XIV

MINIATURE OF A MAN

New York. The Hispanic Society of America

ruff. This child is supposed to be the son of El Greco. Numerous are the writers who have tried to identify in the paintings of El Greco the various members of his family. This rather thankless task has led them to suppose that the artist's son was the model for the young Saint Martin on horseback and also the youth who holds the map in the *View and Plan of Toledo*. His purely mythical daughter is variously identified as the page in *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* and the lady in the Stirling-Maxwell portrait described in the first chapter. It is impossible to recognize in the central figure in *The Family of El Greco* the wife of the artist because Llaguno's statement that he contracted matrimony in Toledo is absolutely without foundation.

Since the publication of Cossío's exhaustive work new light has been brought to bear on the family of El Greco. In a document dated March 31st, 1614, the artist gives the power to

make his will to his son, Jorge Manuel. In the contents of this document is found the following: "'. . . Jorge manuel mi hijo y de la dha dona ger.ma de las cuebas. . .'" (24). As contrary to custom, he does not say "my wife", this brings one to the conclusion that Doña Gerónima de las Cuebas was not his wife but the mother of his illegitimate son, Jorge Manuel. No mention is made of other children in the numerous documents published by Borja de San Román. A document dated June 3rd, 1610, gives the age of Jorge Manuel as thirty-two, thus proving that he was born in 1578. He was probably taught painting by his father who may also have instructed him in other arts. In architecture he became especially distinguished. He married Doña Alfonsa de los Morales (died 1617) and had one son, Gabriel. A few years later, after the death of his first wife, he married Doña Gregoria de Guzmán (died 1629), by whom he

PLATE XV

MINIATURE OF A LADY

New York. The Hispanic Society of America

had three children, Claudia, María, and Jorge. He was appointed master contractor of the *Casa de Ayuntamiento*, Toledo. On March 10th, 1625, the Chapter of Toledo made him the *maestro mayor* and sculptor of the Cathedral. Soon after this he laid out the plans for the cupola and lantern of the *Capilla Mozárabe*. Jorge Manuel died when still young. Of his work as a painter there remains a replica of *The Expolio*, signed by him, and a copy of the lower part of *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, both in the Prado. Attributed to him are *The Purification of the Temple* (Jerez de la Frontera. Don Ramón Díaz) and *Jesus in the House of Simon* (New York. The Hispanic Society of America). It is probable that a portion of his work remains unidentified.

Closely connected with the household was Francisco Preboste, the servant whom El Greco probably brought with him from Italy. Among the many

documents in which Preboste's name figures is one in which he was authorized to undertake a certain work in case of the death of his master. He was probably to El Greco what Pareja was to Velázquez, both pupil and servant. *The Virgin with the Crystal Dish* in the collection of The Hispanic Society of America has been attributed to Preboste. Luis Tristán, though considered as El Greco's pupil, fails so completely to attain to the master's excellence that his works hold little of interest.

IV

There lived in Toledo in the time of Sancho the Brave a pious and illustrious caballero, who, having no children, devoted his time and money to the erecting and repairing of churches. He was Chancellor of Castilla and tutor to the Infanta Beatrice. His name was Gonzalo Ruiz de Toledo, Count of Orgaz. He interceded so successfully with the Queen on behalf of the monks of the Order of Saint Augustine that she granted them a new church, which at his request was named in honour of Saint Stephen. He also rebuilt the small Church of *Santo Tomé* at his own expense. When the saintly Count of Orgaz died (*ca.* 1323) Saint Augustine and Saint Stephen showed their gratitude by a miracle which occurred in the following manner:

"At this time, we find that the blessed father Saint Augustine wished for the glory of our Spain, to appear in the Imperial City of Toledo, and show himself favourable to the inhabitants of that city, the occasion was this. That very Christian and virtuous cavalier, Don Gonçalo Ruyz de Toledo of whom we spoke before, died full of pious works, and much Christianity, and they carried him to be interred in a parish church of the same city called *sancto Thome*: which he had founded and dowered, and after celebrating the offices which the church is accustomed to use for the dead, at the time when they wished to place him in his sepulchre, there was seen in the church a great light, and in the midst thereof the protomartyr Saint Stephen, and our father Saint Augustine, and approaching the body, one at the head, and the other at the feet, they took it and placed it in the sepulchre, saying these words: such a reward the man receives who serves

PLATE XVI

Photograph D. Anderson, Rome

THE BURIAL OF THE COUNT OF ORGAZ

Toledo. Church of Santo Tomé

God and the saints, and immediately disappeared: for this from that time on his successors fix a tax in the village of Orgaz for the said monastery, because on the day of Saint Thomas Apostle a monk of the Order preaches, and he is obliged to recount the miracle: but in this year of 1568 those of Orgaz have objected, forgetful of so great an honour, as that of having so illustrious a man for señor. But the Church of *sancto Thome* has started a lawsuit against them, moved by the diligence of the very religious priest of this parish, called Andres Muñoz [!] de Madrid: who still wished to do more to refresh the memory about this event, by placing again on a stone this miracle and history . . ." (25).

When this same Andrés Núñez de Madrid, who seems to have had the fame of his parish church much at heart, desired to have a picture painted to portray the miracle, he asked permission of the Council of the Government of the Archbishopric of Toledo. The Council gave

its consent in a decree dated October 23rd, 1584. The picture was ordered to be finished by Christmas Day, 1586. As was the usual custom it was to be valued by two appraisers, one for the painter and one for the parish.

El Greco was selected as the artist who was to reveal anew to the Toledans the miracle of the pious Count of Orgaz (Plate XVI). Contrary to general opinion this picture was not begun in 1584 but in 1586, according to a contract dated March 18th, 1586. He finished it before the end of the year. Upon the handkerchief of the little page, in the painting, appear El Greco's signature and the date 1578, a date that is quite incomprehensible, as the picture for many reasons could not have been painted in that year. On the other hand 1578 was the year in which the son of El Greco was born. It is therefore probable that the little page represents Jorge Manuel at the age of eight.

When El Greco had finished the

CHRIST EMBRACING THE CROSS

Madrid. Don Aureliano de Beruete y Moret

picture he asked the Council to value the work so that he might receive his money. The appraisers named, Luis de Velasco and Hernando de Nunciva, estimated the work at 1200 *ducados*. As this was most unsatisfactory to the parish they asked to have it revalued. New appraisers were appointed, Hernando de Avila and Blas de Prado, but instead of reducing the amount they raised it to 1600 *ducados*. A lawsuit finally resulted in an edict of the Council (May 30th, 1588), in which they sentenced the priest and treasurer (*mayordomo*) of *Santo Tomé* to pay El Greco the sum of 1200 *ducados* before nine days were up, thus conforming to the first valuation but cannily ignoring the second. El Greco, feeling himself abused, appealed to His Holiness the Pope asking for the 400 *ducados* which he had not received. Probably nothing came of this appeal as a few weeks later he agreed to take the original sum in payment.

To understand the full significance of

the picture it must be considered as a whole. Writers have been apt to divide it into two distinct parts, the realistic lower and the mystic upper one. They have criticized each separately as though no connection existed between the two. Thus they failed to appreciate the definitely planned composition or to interpret the subject correctly. The picture seems to be composed of a series of curves, of harmonious lines which sweep upward until they reach their highest point: the white-robed figure of Christ. By this treatment the artist obtains an effect of motion, of the souls of men striving upward, of angels actually hovering between heaven and earth, and of torches flaming to the skies.

In the foreground the bending bodies of the two saints, the curved and lifeless form of the dead Count, the bowed head of the Franciscan monk, all assist in creating a feeling of lineal rhythm. From left and right massive clouds rise in sloping lines above the heads

PLATE XVIII

Photograph Hanfstaengl, Munich

THE CRUCIFIXION

Paris. Musée National du Louvre

of the mourners, parting in the centre of the picture, pushed asunder by the ascending form of an angel who holds in its arms a tiny being, so delicately and vaguely outlined that it seems formed of cloud and mist. It is the soul of the dead Count, and from the protecting arms it ascends to the glory awaiting it. Above, upon the clouds, the Virgin bends forward to receive it, and opposite her kneels Saint John the Baptist, his arms outstretched in a gesture of supplication. These two figures repeat the lines of the bending saints in the foreground.

The Burial of the Count of Orgaz has little in common with the balanced perfection, the static qualities of Raphael's *Disputa* and still less with the paganism of Michael Angelo's *Last Judgment.* And yet, El Greco must have seen both paintings in Rome. Although this painting by El Greco does not represent a Last Judgment, is it not possible that he obtained his inspiration for the upper

part of the picture from a Byzantine source and that this is the symbolic group known as the *Deësis*? Introduced from the East at an early period, the *Deësis* is described as follows:

"Our Lord is enthroned in the centre; the two other figures stand turned towards him, each holding out both hands in an attitude of supplication . . . whatever the origin, the group ultimately became apocalyptic, and forms the centre of the Last Judgement. The Virgin was held to represent the Church of the New Dispensation mediating between the Saviour as Judge and the world: St. John represents the Old Dispensation. Examples of this subject, which were especially popular from the tenth century onwards, occur in mosaics, enamels, and ivory carvings. The *Deesis* appears in Western art as a result of Byzantine influence. Christ, the Virgin, and St. John the Baptist in the *Deesis* arrangement appear in a few Western Dooms" (26).

It is not unreasonable, therefore, to conclude that El Greco drew his inspiration from the Byzantine art of Crete and from the mosaics and carvings which he must have seen at Venice.

Until a few years ago writers, mistaking Saint John the Baptist for a representation of the Count appearing in heaven, voiced their indignant objections to this unclothed figure entirely out of proportion, who kneels before the Christ. They forgot that from the thirteenth century the souls of the dead were depicted in art as little human beings. In the Spanish primitives Saint Michael balances his scales, weighing upon them little kneeling figures representing souls; in the *Triumph of Death* in the *Campo Santo,* Pisa, angels carry souls in their arms. The Dormition of the Virgin, a subject popular in Byzantine art, portrays the soul of the Virgin as a diminutive being in the arms of her Son (*27*).

The Burial of the Count of Orgaz is

worthy of a detailed description, as it is El Greco's supreme achievement; in it his art has reached its apogee. In the immediate foreground the aged Saint Augustine in his magnificent cope, stiff with gold embroidery, bends tenderly above the dark head of the lifeless Count. In the black and gold damascened armour of Orgaz there is a note of dark splendour which contrasts admirably with the brilliance of the rich dalmatic worn by the young Saint Stephen. At the left, kneels a page clad in black. He holds a lighted torch in one hand and points with the other as though to draw attention to the miracle. Forming a background to this central group are "all the nobles of the city", courtiers in sombre black, some wearing the red cross of Santiago, monks, and ecclesiastical dignitaries. At the extreme left, the light from flaring torches falls upon the pale face of an Augustinian friar shrouded in his black habit and half reveals the

PLATE XIX

SAINT DOMINIC

New York. The Hispanic Society of America

pensive expression of a Franciscan shadowed in his gray cowl. At the right, preserving the balance of the composition, is the tall figure of the priest who reads the burial offices. The death's head grins upon his funeral cope. Beside him the processional cross lifts its crucifix into the clouds. The *mayordomo* turns his broad back to the spectator as he stands gazing at the glory in the sky. Dim vistas open in the clouds revealing at the left a group of musicians, at the right a man with arm upraised, a Magdalene lifting a crystal vase. Behind the Virgin is Saint Peter with the keys. Our Lady is here represented as a divine and tender woman, not as the regal Queen of Heaven. Behind Saint John the Baptist are saints, apostles, and the great multitude of the blessed. It is the mystic rose of the *Paradiso*; El Greco dreaming of Dante created this vision.

"Upon this side, where perfect is
the flower

With each one of its petals, seated are
Those who believe in Christ who was to come.
Upon the other side, where intersected
With vacant spaces are the semicircles,
Are those who looked to Christ already come.
And as, upon this side, the glorious seat
Of the Lady of Heaven, and the other seats
Below it, such a great division make,
So opposite doth that of the great John,
Who, ever holy, desert and martyrdom
Endured, and afterwards two years in Hell" (28).

It is the Spaniard, Señor Unamuno, who best interprets the spirit which radiates from the cavaliers surrounding the dead Count:

"They seem all united, but only because they depend on the same death — of which the Count is an expression — and upon the same sky which opens above their heads . . . These men whom El Greco paints, fortified within themselves, severe and rigid, seem to say with our Fray Juan de los Angeles: 'I for the Lord and the Lord for me, and nothing else in the world!' . . . The cavaliers of the *Burial* are silent, as silent as the Count of Orgaz, who is to be buried. Only their hands speak. . .

"They speak, the winged hands which El Greco painted. One can call them 'winged', as Homer called the word. One must listen to them, those winged hands, poised upon the breasts of the cavaliers or of the saints, or fluttering in fantastic foreshortenings. There is one, above all, that seems a mystic dove, a messenger of the secret of death. It is that hand which seems to belong to one of the cavaliers in the *Burial,* and appears in it, ascending, enclosed in a wrist-

band of lace, from the shadows, between Saint Stephen and Saint Augustine, above the corpse of the Count of Orgaz. as though to salute it in its departure from this world" (29).

As to the identification of the various illustrious men of Toledo who are portrayed here, that is a difficult matter. At the left is an elderly man with a short beard and high forehead. He is probably Diego de Covarrubias, an eminent theologian, a lawyer, and a friend of Saint Theresa. As he died in 1577 El Greco must have based this portrait on an earlier one. Next to the Dominican in his white cowl is the sad face, supposed for some reason to be a portrait of the artist. At the right, the noble head almost in profile with the short white beard is possibly that of Antonio Covarrubias, the brother of Diego. He, also, was a learned scholar and a friend of El Greco, who painted him again years later. The priest with the book who reads the burial offices

PLATE XX

SAINT JAMES THE GREAT

New York. The Hispanic Society of America

is thought to be Andrés Núñez de Madrid, who played such an important part in the history of the parish of *Santo Tomé*. The *mayordomo* in his white surplice may be Juan López.

According to Kehrer, who not only attempts the identification of the cavaliers but extends his investigations to the blessed who are grouped behind Saint John, there appear in the heavenly company the Archbishop of Toledo and Pope Sixtus the Fifth. Now as the Pope died in 1590 and the Archbishop (Gaspar de Quiroga) in 1594 there is some difficulty in reconciling their deaths with their appearance in heaven in a picture painted in 1586. Perhaps it was the artist's method of flattering the great men of his time by giving them an assured place among the host of the redeemed. One is led to believe that El Greco may have stooped to this piece of courtly adulation by the fact that the third person from Saint Thomas, with his carpenter's square, is a man with a

short white beard and high forehead — a man who, in strange contrast with the flowing robes of the saints about him, wears armour and a white ruff. Compare this portrait with that of the King in El Greco's *Glory of Philip the Second*; the resemblance is striking. And yet, Philip did not die until 1598, fully twelve years later.

V

The painter of *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz,* that most perfect expression of Spanish mysticism, had among his friends Archbishop Quiroga, Diego Covarrubias, and other Toledans, who, if not mystics themselves, were favourable to the exponents of the doctrine. Mysticism in Spain reached its highest point of development during the lifetime of El Greco. The mystics, watched by the Inquisition, often attacked and imprisoned, succeeded in influencing some of the most notable men and women of their time and in producing a literature imbued with lofty sentiments. Saint Theresa was sent into a retreat at Toledo, Luis de León was kept in prison at Valladolid, Juan de la Cruz was placed in a

dungeon at Toledo, and yet mysticism, that delicate flower of Castilian spirituality, continued to flourish. Something of this doctrine which taught a closer union between God and man, a union which might be obtained through prayer, meditation, and ecstasy, is expressed in the words of Fray Luis de León:

"Ah me! my soul, what baleful chain
Holds back thy freeborn spirit's flight?
Oh break it, disenthrall'd from pain,
And mount those azure depths of light" (30).

It is to El Greco's religious pictures that one turns for an understanding of the reaction upon him of Catholic Toledo. There is a striking difference in his treatment of certain subjects and the Spanish Catholic conception of the same thing, which leads one to believe that he painted not Spain of the Inquisition but Spain of the mystics. For example, the Spaniards preferred to show the exhausted Christ bending

PLATE XXI

SAINT JAMES THE GREAT

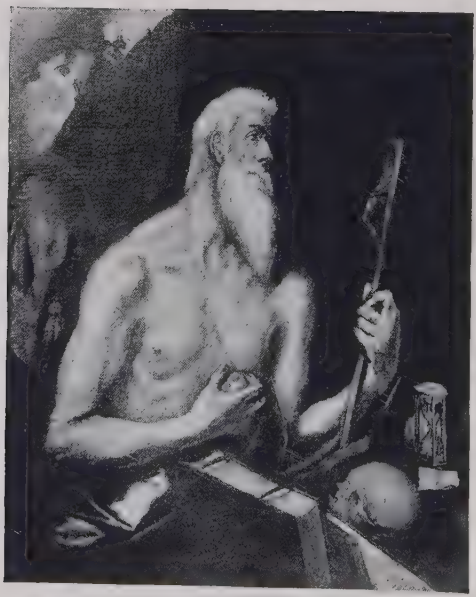
New York. The Hispanic Society of America

beneath His heavy cross. The Via Crucis was a popular subject among them. They were aroused to pious enthusiasm by realistic representations of suffering and martyrdom. A people accustomed to the ferocious scenes of the auto-da-fé did not fail to demand in their art presentations of torture and brutality. El Greco has chosen to represent the sorrowful figure in a quite different manner in his *Christ Embracing the Cross* (Plate XVII); the head is slightly raised, the tearful eyes shine with forgiveness, the cross is held upright. The shadow of the Calvary is upon the picture, but one is spared the hopeless suffering of those other Christs staggering beneath their heavy burdens. This is the gentle Saviour to whom Saint Theresa addressed her petitions. If in this painting El Greco reveals his tendency towards mysticism, in the *Christ Bestowing a Blessing* he shows the majestic Christ Pantokrater of

Byzantine art. As in the mosaics, this figure faces with hieratic solemnity directly towards the front, the right hand raised to bestow a blessing.

The Crucifixion in the Louvre (Plate XVIII) might be called a devotional picture as it does not portray an actual event. It has a special place among the artist's works because of its balanced composition, its absolute simplicity of design, its sombre and harmonious tonalities. Christ is represented upon the cross as a symbol of suffering and redemption, not as the dying Lord surrounded by His weeping followers. His body is firmly modeled, there is nothing about it to suggest death, the muscles do not sag but remain taut. The head, instead of being bowed in grief and anguish, is raised, the eyes gaze upward with infinite longing. There is a superb tranquillity about the figure. It is the Christ of Byzantine art, triumphant even upon the cross. The background creates a feeling of vast spaces across

PLATE XXII



SAINT JEROME

New York. The Hispanic Society of America

which move slowly and majestically gray and white cloud-forms, parting above the cross to reveal the intense blue sky. The introduction of the two donors emphasizes the devotional character of the subject. They are worthy to rank with the famous portraits in *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz.* The cavalier, at the right, is in black with narrow white lace ruffs at his neck and wrists. His black hair is touched with gray. At the left is a cleric in a black cassock and white surplice. Perhaps this is Juan López of the Orgaz picture, his hair now turned white.

As it is impossible to describe in detail the large company of saints which the artist painted, one can only select some of those most representative. A description by Dalton of Byzantine mosaics might apply quite as well to El Greco's saints:

"The figures that ennoble these walls often seem independent of earth; they owe much of their grandeur to their

at a peculiar angle, the mouth is open, the neck swanlike in length. All the strange mannerisms are here evident.

In the painting known as *The Tears of Saint Peter* (London. National Gallery) the gray-haired saint, clad in a yellow cloak and blue tunic, raises his sorrowful eyes to heaven and clasps his hands in a gesture of supplication. He seems to be in that state of ecstasy described by the mystic Fray Luis de Granada:

". . . and so the soul, kindled by this celestial flame, is lifted out of itself, and exerting itself to rise with ardour from earth to heaven . . . burns with a fervent desire for God, and so hastens with impetuous speed to unite with Him, and stretches its arms upward trying to reach the One whom it so loves; and as it cannot reach Him nor abandon its desire to do so, it faints with the greatness of unfulfilled desire, and there remains no other consolation, than sending heartfelt sighs and longing to

PLATE XXIII

HEAD OF SAINT FRANCIS

New York. The Hispanic Society of America

heaven . . ." (32).

A painting in the collection of The Hispanic Society of America which probably represents Saint Dominic (Plate XIX) shows him kneeling upon the ground, with clasped hands and bowed head, before a crucifix which is supported upon two stones. He is clad in the white tunic and black cloak of his order. In the right-hand corner is a hilly landscape painted in tones of brown. The sky is overcast with gray and stormy clouds. Also in the collection are two representations of the patron saint of Spain. In one of them (Plate XX) Saint James the Great in the garb of a pilgrim wears a blue tunic over which is draped a yellow mantle. His gray hat is ornamented with pilgrim's shells and fastened by a cord over his right shoulder. He holds the staff of a pilgrim in his left hand. A cloudy gray sky forms the background. In the other picture (Plate XXI) Santiago is represented as a full-

length figure in a white tunic and red mantle. Over his left shoulder is strung a gray hat. He holds in his right hand a pilgrim's staff, in his left, a book. On a stone at his feet appear the initials 80. The landscape painted in blue, brown, and gray blends into a sky of the same tones. Like the pilgrims who came to visit his shrine at Compostela he seems ready to start upon a long journey.

In the half-length painting of *Saint Jerome* (Plate XXII) in the same collection the saint appears as an aged philosopher with white hair and a long white beard. His yellow and emaciated body stands out in striking contrast to the blackness of the background. Only at the extreme left is this sombreness relieved by a cardinal's red hat and a glimpse of cloudy gray sky. A fold of red drapery appears below his right arm. He holds in his right hand a stone, in his left, a brown crucifix, upon which his gray eyes gaze with a fanatical devotion.

He is seated, and before him are two books, an hourglass, and a skull. The ivy which hangs over the entrance to the cave has been repeated so often by the artist that it is almost as much of a signature as the Greek letters upon a piece of paper in the right-hand corner.

Among the numerous paintings of Mary Magdalene is one in the collection of The Hispanic Society of America attributed to El Greco. Enveloped in a voluminous red mantle she kneels at the mouth of a cave before a crucifix. Her long yellow hair falls to her waist. A skull, the symbol of mortality, lies upon a rock. The blue sky is overcast with gray clouds.

It is Francis, above all other saints, whom the artist has chosen for his own. Many are his canvases showing the leader of,

". . . those barefooted meek ones,
Who sought God's friendship in
the cord . . ." (33).

In the hermit kneeling at the entrance

to a rocky cave before a skull and crucifix one fails to see the Saint Francis of the Italian legend, the little brother of all living things. Without doubt the cowled head of a monk in the collection of The Hispanic Society of America (Plate XXIII) represents the saint. The profile outlined against a dark background recalls other representations of Saint Francis painted during different periods of the artist's life.

Berenson's condemnation of Fra Bartolommeo's prophets and apostles as spiritually insignificant (34) applies quite as well to the works of many of El Greco's contemporaries in Spain. Of this, at least, the Greek can never be accused, for however inaccurate the drawing and sombre the colour, his emaciated saints are the quintessence of spirituality.

Without dates or documents concerning many of the pictures considered in this chapter it is difficult to place them in any special period. Von Loga assigns

PLATE XXIV

Photograph Flli. Alinari, Florence

SAINT LOUIS

Paris. Musée National du Louvre

The *Holy Family* in the collection of The Hispanic Society of America (Frontispiece) to El Greco's first Toledan period and Cossío to his second period. In describing the picture Cossío calls it the most beautiful Holy Family by El Greco and adds:

". . . in its types, as well as in execution and in its tones, although the latter are somewhat colder, it bears a close relationship to the *Virgin* of the Chapel of *San José,* of Toledo. In the former canvas, as in this, the poetic charm of the scene, the supreme elegance of the types, the constructive force, the intense vitality, the magic of the colouring dominate. In its expressive nudes, there is the frank naturalness, without affectation, of the primitive painters; and in the carmine, the dark blue and yellow of the draperies, the artist has perhaps succeeded in the most fortunate discovery of the tonalities, a little violent, which he has been seeking since the *Saint Maurice.* The white mantilla on

the head of the Virgin is, from the spontaneity of its execution, the note in the picture which places it most definitely in this period. But, above all, it has, perhaps more than any other, that air of universal and eternal realism, which, wherever it is found, makes us forget the subject and the period, to regard the work as one of our own day" (35).

The Virgin wears a deep pink tunic and a dark blue-green mantle with a yellow border. Over her brown hair is a transparent white mantilla. She watches with lowered eyes the brown-haired Child upon her lap. At the right is Saint Joseph in his traditional yellow mantle. His hair and beard are dark brown. In the background gray clouds drift across a blue sky.

Another undated picture is the one in the Louvre supposed to represent Saint Louis (Plate XXIV). The saintly King is clad in a suit of armour across which is twisted a red mantle. Upon his brown hair touched with gray is a green-

Photograph Hanfstaengl, Munich

THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

Madrid. Museo del Prado

gold crown. His expression is unrelieved by a gleam of intelligence or humour. Over his dull visage has fallen the shadow of the Hapsburgs; he has a long nose, heavily lidded brown eyes, large ears, and a full lower lip. Although the mother of Saint Louis was Blanche of Castilla this transformation of a French king into a Spaniard of the sixteenth century is hardly excusable. As in the miniatures representing Saint Louis he holds the hand of state. A sceptre surmounted by a fleur-de-lis is in his left hand. The little page who bears his helmet wears a gray jacket trimmed with dull gold buttons. His white sleeves are adorned with gold stripes. About his neck is a white lace ruff. In the background is a gray-green column.

Saint Louis again appears in a painting of a knight of Santiago and his patron. In spite of the inscription on the picture the identity of this kneeling figure covered by a white cloak, the red

cross of the order upon his breast, has not been definitely established as that of Julián Romero. At his side is a tall man in armour from whose shoulders falls a mantle adorned with lilies. The crown at his feet makes it seem possible that El Greco is again portraying Saint Louis. At least, so thinks Cossío. Georgiana Goddard King suggests that this may be a knight of Alcántara presented by Saint Julian (36). Why then does he wear the red cross of Santiago and why has Saint Julian the attributes of a French king?

VI

In an earlier chapter reasons were suggested for the markedly individual traits which appeared in the artist's work as he advanced in years. This new phase can best be studied in the pictures belonging to the period about to be considered. Whether the mannerisms can be attributed to astigmatism, mysticism, or Byzantine influence, the fact remains that the pictures exert a strange fascination and are in many ways the most individual of the artist's productions.

In regard to the method employed by El Greco it is of interest to note that Vasari writing of Michael Angelo said:

"I have myself secured some drawings by his hand . . . He would make his figures of nine, ten, or even twelve heads long, for no other purpose than the

research of a certain grace in putting the parts together which is not to be found in the natural form, and would say that the artist must have his measuring tools, not in the hand but in the eye, because the hands do but operate, it is the eye that judges . . ." (37). As Michael Angelo did much to enrich the Farnese Palace in Rome, it is logical to suppose that El Greco may have seen some of these drawings while staying there.

For the *Colegio de Religiosos Calzados de la Orden de San Agustín,* Madrid. El Greco executed a *retablo.* In honour of its founder, a lady of the Court of Anne of Austria, this *colegio* was generally known as that of Doña María de Aragón. Ceán Bermúdez writes that the *retablo* was done in 1590, but the only evidence to support this statement is the fact that mass was said there for the first time on April 11th, 1590, probably after the completion of the *retablo.* The church was not finished until 1599.

PLATE XXVI

Photograph Hanfstaengl, Munich

THE RESURRECTION

Madrid. Museo del Prado

As usual there was a lawsuit. El Greco did not receive his payment of 65,300 *reales* until the year from 1598 to 1600. *The Baptism*, now in the Prado (Plate XXV), was painted for the *colegio*, and to this three more pictures are added by Cossío because of the similarity of their technique and colouring. They are *The Annunciation* in the *Museo Balaguer* at Villanueva y Geltrú, *The Resurrection* (Plate XXVI) and *The Crucifixion* in the Prado. So little documentary evidence has come to light in regard to them that one can only agree that in conception and tonality they resemble *The Baptism*. Cossío writes that:

"On remounting the paintings, there have been discovered, fortunately, the lateral margins of the canvases, where the artist cleaned his brushes. These brush strokes, in which ochre and dark red dominate almost exclusively, explain the opaque and earthy tonalities of the flesh tones and of the atmosphere

of this group of pictures . . ." (38).

One cannot agree with Señor Mélida that *The Baptism* resembles the same subject as treated by Byzantine artists. Here the Christ is seen in profile; in Byzantine art He is depicted almost invariably full face, nor is He immersed in water. Upon the banks of the river stands Saint John the Baptist. From a shell he pours water upon the head of the Christ who kneels upon one knee. A red mantle held by a group of angels forms a background for His figure. The Dove hovers in the clouds over the central group. In the heavens appears God the Father clad in shining white and surrounded by angels. It is of interest to observe that these same angels are repeated in *The Immaculate Conception* (Munich. Heinemann Collection) belonging to El Greco's last period.

In *The Annunciation* the Angel Gabriel, winged like some gigantic bird, completely dwarfs the figure of the

Virgin as he approaches upon a curiously rounded cloud. Awkwardly he folds his arms upon his breast. Instead of flowing draperies he is clad in a rather close-fitting garment of some dark material. In contrast, the Virgin is altogether charming. As she turns from her prie-dieu to receive his salutation, her mantle falls back revealing her dark hair and delicate profile. In the midst of a confusion of clouds and cherubs the white Dove sweeps down from heaven. A rushing wind seems to have invaded the room bearing with it a group of angels playing upon musical instruments.

In *The Resurrection* the Roman soldiers, instead of being half asleep about an empty tomb, leap into the air in wild astonishment, brandishing their unsheathed swords. They raise their arms in fantastic gestures as though to touch the ascending figure so soon to vanish out of their sight. In the centre foreground is a soldier who has fallen

backwards upon the earth, still clutching his sword. It is this figure which assists in creating the effect of ascending lines for which the artist was evidently striving. Only in the Christ is found repose. Majestically He ascends, His mantle floating about Him, a banner in His left hand. The radiance of a mandorla surrounds Him.

The subject of the Crucifixion rendered with such restraint in the painting in the Louvre is here marred by the mannerisms of El Greco. Unlike the lonely Christ in the other painting, the Redeemer is accompanied by the Virgin and Saint John, while at the foot of the cross kneels the Magdalene. Angels receive the blood from His wounds. The sombre sky reflects the tragic feeling emanating from the canvas.

The artist's next work was connected with the Chapel of *San José* at Toledo. According to a Latin inscription on the façade this was the first church dedicat-

SAINT MARTIN AND THE BEGGAR

Philadelphia. Widener Collection

ed to Saint Joseph. To this chapel had come Saint Theresa, whose patron was Saint Joseph, and her Shod Carmelite nuns. It is singularly appropriate that not many years later El Greco, himself steeped in the mysticism of the times, should have executed a *retablo* in a place which had once given shelter to the greatest of Spanish mystics. The *retablo* was begun on November 20th, 1597 and finished two years later. Again El Greco became involved in a lawsuit, this time with Martín Ramírez, the nephew of the founder of the chapel. Fearful of the high cost of continuing the suit and perhaps aware of the artist's persistency in affairs of this kind, Ramírez consented to pay El Greco the 31,328 *reales* originally agreed upon. So it is stated in a document dated December 13th, 1599. Cossío believes that a sum which Ramírez paid on behalf of the artist to a linen draper had been spent on canvas for the pictures which were to adorn the *retablo*. Although these

paintings are not mentioned in the document, there is little doubt that they were executed at this period and for this chapel.

In the centre of the *retablo* is a large painting of the titular saint of the place. Like the *Saint James* in the collection of The Hispanic Society of America, Saint Joseph stands upon the crest of a hill, wrapped in the many folds of his mantle and grasping a staff in his right hand. Detached from his surroundings, his elongated figure appears enormous. The Christ Child at his left seems to cling to him for protection from the perils of the road. The Child's figure is decidedly puzzling as it is impossible to realize the structure of the body beneath the garments. His arms and hands are not those of a child. Above the head of the saint, angels scattering flowers descend in a whirlwind of clouds. As in the *Saint James,* the hills of Toledo are seen in the background. This motive of El Greco's adopted city is introduced from

time to time until it reaches its culmination in the landscape of Toledo painted during his last years.

The Coronation of the Virgin is placed above the *Saint Joseph* in the *retablo.* The figures in the foreground, which do not appear in the Madrid and Illescas variants, detract from the beauty and simplicity of the composition. It has been suggested that they represent the founder and his family. This is hardly admissible as no respected citizen of Toledo would appear in flowing mantle and without his ruff. Undoubtedly they are six of the apostles as it is possible to identify Saint James the Great at the extreme left and the two Saint Johns, one at the right and the other at the left. Velázquez probably received his inspiration for *The Coronation of the Virgin,* in the Prado, from this painting.

The Virgin with Saint Agnes and Another Saint, now in the Widener Collection, came originally from the Chapel

of *San José*. There is little about this Virgin that is reminiscent of the peasant Madonnas of Italy or the golden-haired maidens of the Netherlands in jeweled crowns, representing the Queen of Heaven. Rather is she the sensitive type of Toledan woman of the sixteenth century. Her dark hair is drawn back from her high forehead and half-veiled by a transparent white mantilla. Over her red tunic is draped a blue mantle. The delicate contours of her oval face and her slender, pointed fingers reveal her innate elegance and beauty. With her left arm she supports the Infant whose little hand, with a very natural gesture, reaches out to clasp her fingers. On either side, clad in pink and green garments, are adoring angels. Murillo has equalled but never surpassed these two youthful figures with their rounded forms, their curly hair, their innocent faces. They might have been painted during the master's early period, so lacking are they in the peculiarities of

Photograph D. Anderson, Rome

GLORY OF PHILIP THE SECOND

Escorial. Salas Capitulares

his last manner. Below the Virgin and Child, at the left, is a saint in a blue tunic and yellow mantle, bearing the palm of victory, her right hand resting upon the head of a lioness. On the forehead of the beast are the initials δ0. At the right, Saint Agnes in a red mantle, holding a white lamb, looks down in proud humility.

Saint Martin and the Beggar (Plate XXVII) is another painting which has been transferred from the Chapel of *San José* to the Widener Collection. The Saint, a young crusader clad in damascened armour, bears himself gallantly as he rides upon a prancing white horse. Leaning towards the beggar at his side he severs his green cloak with a blow of his Toledan blade. His expression is so melancholy, so distrait, that he seems in a trance, like a wandering knight whose crusade is never ending. The blue sky is flecked with clouds, and far in the distance is seen Toledo upon her green hilltops. Books

of chivalry had not yet been held up to ridicule by Cervantes. All Spain read avidly of adventuring knights and distressed maidens. Stored in El Greco's library were many romances, among them those of Ariosto and Bernardo Tasso's *Amadigi* (39). The chivalric spirit breathes from this painting; it is the most romantic of El Greco's conceptions.

Beruete is inclined to date *The Dream*, or more correctly the *Glory of Philip the Second*, in the Escorial (Plate XXVIII), from this period and not as having been painted before the *Saint Maurice*. It inevitably recalls the *Glory* painted by Titian for the Emperor Charles the Fifth. Because of its conception and handling, Cossío, also, though unable to produce documentary evidence, does not hesitate to assign it to *ca.* 1600. In support of this he offers several facts. For instance, Sigüenza published the third part of his *Historia de la Orden de San Gerónimo* in 1605,

containing a detailed description of the Escorial, but he failed to mention the *Glory*. The first time it is given by Santos in his work on the Escorial it is described as being in the sacristy of the Pantheon. After the failure of the *Saint Maurice* it is thought that the King would have hesitated to commission the artist to paint such an important picture as the *Glory*. He comes to the conclusion that the order for the picture to be placed over the tomb came from the *Comunidad* years after the death of the King.

Santos writing in the seventeenth century says:

"A Glory by Dominico Greco, one of the best which he painted, though always with want of taste in the colours; but here he has the excuse that it is not easy to find those suitable for painting the Glory of God; for the most vivid cannot succeed in representing the might of that Supreme Majesty, neither seen, nor heard by men. Usually

this canvas is called the Glory of Greco, because of a fragment of glory which one sees in the upper part . . . he wished to represent to us here that conceit of Saint Paul: *In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur Cœlestium, Terrestrium, & Infernorum.* It is a subject executed with all excellence; the skill of the artist's drawing is already well known, and here he shows taste in the positions, and elegant attitudes, which the figures have, with naturalness and ease, without the multitude becoming confused" (40).

The *Glory of Philip the Second* recalls illuminated title-pages by its innumerable details, its vari-coloured and gem-like qualities. There is a marvelous richness as well as variety within a small space. Like the minute figures in the *Ejecutorias* Philip kneels with clasped hands, a black silhouette outlined against a brilliant background. His sombre costume, his excessive pallor, are emphasized by the cruel contrast.

PLATE XXIX

PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL TAVERA

Toledo. Church of the Hospital of San Juan Bautista

With what pleasure has El Greco painted the glowing red of the Cardinal's cloak, the blue, green, and carmine of the garments of the saints, the yellow robe trimmed with ermine, the brocaded cushion, and the carpet upon which the blessed kneel! Behind the elect an innumerable throng of the redeemed extend across the plain. The picture is crowded with incident. At the right, hell is represented by the open jaws of a monster, inside which the tormented struggle against leaping flames. In the background the red glare from the burning lake tinges with colour the gray clouds which divide the heavenly from the earthly scene. Above in the sky a crescent of kneeling angels gazes upon a monogram I H S in the centre of a golden glory. It is significant that the form in which the name of Jesus appears is that chosen by the Jesuits as the symbol of their order. Opposed to the Society of Jesus during the greater part of his reign, Philip the

Second came to regard them with favour before his death.

In 1603 El Greco began the *retablo* for the *Colegio de San Bernardino*, Toledo, and completed it on September 12th of the same year. To this *retablo* belongs the *Saint Bernardino of Sicna*, now in the *Museo del Greco*. Several years later he drew a plan for the façade of the *colegio*.

In his next lawsuit he appears as the champion of the noble art of painting, declaring it free from all taxation. Palomino and others are wrong when they assign the year 1600 as the date of this lawsuit, since the *retablo* for the Church of the Hospital of *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad*, at Illescas, over which the discussion raged, was not contracted for until June 18th, 1603. The tax collector of Illescas placed a tax of fifty thousand *maravedís* upon this *retablo*, which sum the artist with characteristic independence refused to pay—hence the lawsuit.

Courtesy of the National Gallery, London

THE PRAYER IN THE GARDEN

London. National Gallery

When a decision was reached it was found that El Greco had gained the victory. Since painting was declared free of tribute, his fellow artists rejoiced with him. The legend that El Greco never sold a picture but only leased it to escape the tax has been entirely disproved. In 1604 Pompeo Leoni, Eugenio Patricio, and two others came from Madrid to appraise the work. El Greco was not satisfied with their evaluation and instituted a lawsuit which dragged on for several years, terminating finally in 1607. The general plan of the Hospital was the work of Nicolás de Vergara and not of El Greco; Ponz, Palomino, and others to the contrary. The four statues in the *capilla mayor* assigned by Cossío to El Greco were probably drawn by him but executed by someone else.

The Convent of *San Francisco,* also at Illescas, is supposed to have been constructed by El Greco, but as it has entirely disappeared it is impossible to

say to whom it should be assigned. It contained two sculptured tombs of the founders attributed to the artist, but they have vanished.

El Greco painted for the Church of the Hospital of *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad* five pictures: *Charity, The Coronation of the Virgin* (resembling the one in Madrid), *The Annunciation, The Nativity,* and *Saint Ildefonso Writing.* Cossío thinks that to this group may also belong *The Betrothal of the Virgin* in the *Pinacoteca,* Bucharest.

The most important picture is the one depicting Ildefonso, who was held in great esteem by the Toledans as one of their patron saints. A vision which appeared to him is described in *Flos sanctorum*:

". . . as one time the holy Archbishop was reading the book which he had composed, on the virginity and excellency of the glorious Mother of God, she appeared to him visibly, and said, I come to thank you for the pains which

you took for love of me in this book which you have written in praise and defense of me" (41).

In the painting the artist has chosen the moment when the saint was still engaged in writing his book; the Virgin had not yet appeared to him. He is seated at a table holding in his right hand a quill pen. His left hand rests upon an open book. His head is raised as though he had stopped writing for a moment, lost in holy meditation. How admirably has El Greco portrayed this venerable white-haired man. His lean face is full of spirituality, his rapt gaze is that of a scholar and a mystic. The room in which he is seated reveals the rich furnishings of the houses of the wealthy in the sixteenth century. The table is covered by a red velvet cloth trimmed with gold braid, the chair is adorned with red silk tassels. Of fine workmanship are the various articles for writing placed upon the table. On a pedestal against the wall is a statue of

the Virgin and Child. Rarely did El Greco use as a background the narrow confines of a room. He preferred the wind-swept hills of Toledo or some cave overhung with green ivy where dwelt an emaciated saint.

The five scenes from the life of Mary Magdalene, and a *Holy Face,* thought at one time to have been painted by the artist for the *retablo mayor* of the Church of Titulcia or Bayona, are now attributed to his son. Although El Greco undoubtedly assisted him in this undertaking, documents dated 1609 and 1612 prove that Jorge Manuel was the painter and Giraldo de Merlo the sculptor of this *retablo.* The best known among the pictures is *Jesus in the House of Simon.*

In a contract dated November 16th, 1608, El Greco undertook the construction of the *retablo mayor* and side altars of the Church of the Hospital of *San Juan Bautista,* at Toledo. He can be held responsible only for the original

PLATE XXXI

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS

New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art

plan, because at his death, in 1614, it was found that he had made but little progress with the work. His son next undertook to complete it, but following in his father's footsteps he became involved in a lawsuit in 1630, with the result that Gabriel de Ulloa was appointed in his place. Borja de San Román, who by publishing numerous documents has solved many problems in regard to El Greco's share in the work, thinks that the pictures which are now on the walls of the church were not originally painted for the place. Among these is the large *Baptism of Christ* which the artist left unfinished. The *Holy Family* is assigned to an earlier date and *The Annunciation* attributed to Gabriel de Ulloa. Besides the ones given by Borja de San Román there are at present in the church the *Portrait of Cardinal Tavera* (Plate XXIX), *The Tears of Saint Peter,* and a *Saint Francis.* It is hardly necessary to add that the statues of the *retablo mayor,*

though probably drawn by El Greco, were not executed by him. The sculpture representing Jesus crucified, the Virgin, and Saint John are assigned to a much later period in Spanish art.

The work for the Church of the Hospital of *San Juan Bautista* was one of the last contracts which El Greco undertook. His life was drawing to a close, but his indomitable spirit was unchanged, his genius more markedly individual than ever. Life had failed to conquer him.

VII

"Here all of Greco that can be confined
Doth Piety lay; here buries, and here seals;
Gently dispose him, gently, so he feels
No footsteps stir the part he left behind!
His fame no silence upon earth shall bind
Where men are born; though envy's breast be steel's
Against it; for no other star reveals
Such radiant glow on our horizon blind.
The higher life he wrought,—not mere applause,—
Greater Apelles!—and the wonderment
Of ages shall invoke his stranger ways!
Crete gave him birth; the brush with which he draws,
Toledo;—and a better land is bent
To grant him rest eternal to his days" (42).

The works painted during El Greco's

last years show plainly his increasing tendency to escape from the conventionality about him. He chooses his subject with greater freedom. His interest in landscape takes form in two views of Toledo. Like Saint John he sees visions of the Apocalypse as he nears the end. The Immaculate Conceptions and the Pentecost are filled with an unearthly ecstasy. His figures grow taller, becoming more spiritualized. They seem to say with Fray Luis de León:

> "O were it mine, Ruiz, to grow
> The wings of heaven, and out
> of bondage here,
> Ascend beyond the life we know
> Unto that outmost crystal sphere
> Where Truth itself shines ever
> pure and clear!" (43).

Among the variants of El Greco's *Prayer in the Garden* the strangest and perhaps the most beautiful is the one in the National Gallery, London (Plate XXX). The striking originality of the

treatment can be best appreciated after considering a painting on the same subject by Mantegna in another part of the Gallery. In the work of the Italian master the garden lies in the midst of a gay and enchanting landscape. A stream flows from distant mountain peaks. In the background are the far towers of a walled city. Beneath a dazzling blue sky the three apostles sleep profoundly; Christ kneels in prayer upon a hill. Like a band of wandering minstrels, in bright array, the Roman soldiers approach, led by Judas, who has the air of a young nobleman. Later in the works of El Greco's Venetian masters this same lack of harmony between the landscape background and the subject of the picture was still evident. In *The Prayer in the Garden* El Greco has used the landscape to intensify the feeling of suspense, of isolation, of innocence about to be betrayed. A sharply curved rock rises abruptly behind the Christ, who, clad in a rose-

coloured tunic and kneeling upon a blue mantle, is the central figure. Upon a white cloud like a snow bank floats an angel with gray wings bearing a golden chalice. In a rocky cavern to the left sleep the three apostles, their bodies twisted in strangely graceful attitudes. To the right, the white moonlight, shining through luminous gray-blue clouds, reveals Judas and the Roman soldiers advancing in the stillness of the night along a road which winds through barren hills towards the lonely garden. The painting is at once astonishingly modern and bewilderingly primitive.

Equally permeated with mysticism but more nervous and intense is *The Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Plate XXXI). The Virgin, Saint Joseph, and the shepherds are grouped in attitudes of worship about the Child who lies upon a shining white cloth in the centre of the picture. This cloth seems

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

Toledo. Church of San Vicente

to reflect the light upwards throwing a subdued illumination over the group. It accentuates their sharp profiles and casts strange flickering shadows upon the dull greens, yellows, pinks, and white of their garments. It reveals in the darkness at the left a little Toledan donkey. Above the central group are three small cherubs bearing a scroll. Beneath the archway at the right a shepherd with raised arms gazes upward at the light in the sky.

In *The Pentecost* in the Prado the Byzantine influence again becomes evident. Iconographically it is closely related to *The Pentecost* in the Syriac Gospel of Rabula (44). The Virgin has the place of honour; grouped about her are the apostles and a woman in a white mantilla. Tongues of flame leap upwards above their heads. From a dome which curves over them the Dove descends in a golden light. The motive of the wavering line of flames in the background, used in the Rabula *Pente-*

cost, is rarely seen in Spanish primitives, where heavy gold halos seem to take its place. Though presentations of the Pentecost are found with great frequency among the Spanish primitives, the artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were so concerned with the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, then at the height of its popularity, that they neglected to some extent the other events in the life of the Virgin.

Not until a few years before his death did El Greco choose the Immaculate Conception as a subject for his brush. Cossío and others have classified the paintings in the Church of *San Vicente* and in the Heinemann Collection as Assumptions, but a careful study of the attributes in the foreground of both pictures will verify the statement that they represent the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. The one painted for the Church of *San Vicente,* Toledo, (Plate XXXII) was begun in 1608 and finished in 1613. It is marvelously

PLATE XXXIII

THE OPENING OF THE FIFTH SEAL

Paris. Don Ignacio Zuloaga y Zanora

beautiful. Again the *Divina commedia* is brought to mind. The Virgin is a "crowned flame" soaring upwards (45). Dante might have been describing the angel with the great wings when he wrote:

> "Lo! how straight up to heaven
> he holds them reared,
> Winnowing the air with those
> eternal plumes . . ." (46).

El Greco's very exaggerations here tend to produce a thrilling sense of movement. A rushing wind seems to sweep all before it: the cloud mists, the tall white lilies, the swirling draperies of the musicians. Differing in every essential from the placid girl Virgins by Murillo, *La Inmaculada* seems not a living person but the embodiment of an ideal, the spirit of mysticism mounting to heaven, no longer to be detained on earth.

The other *Immaculate Conception* (Munich. Heinemann Collection) is a prototype of a long series of paintings on a subject which was to become more

and more popular in Spain. Though it resembles them in composition and in feeling it is forever separated from them by the mannerisms which stamp it as a work of El Greco's last period. Instead of the rosy cherubs in the paintings by Murillo, Carreño de Miranda, and Valdés Leal, the Virgin is here accompanied by angels with long limbs and sharply pointed features. Like great birds they circle about her. The Virgin's expression is mysterious and reserved; her body is swathed in the folds of a heavy mantle. Strangely enough the details in the immediate foreground, the flowers, the fountain, the temple, the little ship, are treated with a care more characteristic of Valdés Leal than of the Greek.

And then, as though weary of painting saints and Madonnas at the command of reverend personages, he indulges his fancy and places upon canvas a startlingly disconcerting vision. This painting known as *Profane Love* has now

been identified as *The Opening of the Fifth Seal,* in the Apocalypse (Plate XXXIII). It, or the sketch for it, is listed in the inventory made of the artist's possessions after his death as, "Un S. Juⁿ abangelista q̃ be los misterios del apocalipsi pequeño" (47). In the Book of Revelation Saint John's vision is described as follows:

"And when he opened the fifth seal, I saw underneath the altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: and they cried with a great voice, saying, How long, O Master, the holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on earth? And there was given them to each one a white robe; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little time. . ." (48).

The seven nude figures then are "the souls of them that had been slain". A great billowing mantle has descended

upon them; it seems about to envelop them, but they raise it aloft with their uplifted hands. Some kneel upon the ground. Their bodies make a fantastic wavering pattern against the dark background. Storm clouds sweep above them. They are but spectres in a dream. The Saint John, kneeling at the left, alone is human. He towers over them, his tremendous figure draped in a voluminous mantle, his arms lifted high above his head.

Another painting equally foreign in subject to El Greco's other works is the *Laocoön* (Plate XXXIV), also painted during this period. It will be remembered that since the famous marble *Laocoön* was found in 1506 the artist must have seen it in Rome. Although the figures in this group are not intertwined as in the Vatican masterpiece, the same effect of unity is obtained by the curving lines of the bodies and the twisting coils of the serpents. In the centre foreground Laocoön is lying

LAOCOÖN

Munich. Alte Pinakothek. On Loan

among the rocks. The serpent which writhes beneath him is about to attack. Behind him is one of his sons whose position recalls that of the soldier in the Prado *Resurrection.* To the left, the other son stands with his body swaying backwards and his outstretched hands holding the coils of a serpent away from him. Quite apart from the main action are two nude figures at the extreme right. Probably introduced into the composition to balance the standing figure of the son at the left, their complete indifference to the tragedy being enacted before them leads one to believe that the artist intended them to represent gods, possibly Pallas and Neptune. Toledo and not Troy appears in the background. A little white horse (the wooden horse of Troy?) halts near the Visagra Gate. El Greco must have passed through this gate very often on his way to the Hospital of *San Juan Bautista.*

The same gate again appears in the

View and Plan of Toledo, which was painted from almost the same spot as the *Laocoön.* To the left the city slopes sharply downhill to where the Tajo flows beneath the Alcántara Bridge. To the right outside the city walls the hills sweep away into the distance. Above the massed buildings, the Alcázar, the Cathedral spire, and the many church towers stand out against a cloudy sky. In the heavens is the Virgin, surrounded by angels, carrying, as she did in the legend, the chasuble to Saint Ildefonso. In the centre foreground is a small model of the Hospital of *San Juan Bautista,* to the left of which is an allegorical figure of the river Tajo. A young man, at the right, spreads out a plan of the city in such a way that the winding river and narrow streets can be easily traced. That this plan is technically correct is vouched for by Lampérez y Romea. Upon the plan appears this rather bewildering explanation in the artist's own words:

"'It was necessary to place the *Hospital de Don Joan Tavera* in the form of a model because not only did it almost cover the Gate of Visagra but the domes and cupola ascended in a way to surpass the city and so once placed as a model and moved from its position it seemed to me to show the façade rather than any other part and as concerns the rest how it is arranged in relation to the city will be seen in the ground plan.

"'Also in the history of Our Lady who brings the chasuble to Saint Ildefonso for his adornment and in making the large figures I have taken advantage in a certain way of the fact that they are celestial bodies as we see in the lights which seen from afar, however small they may be, appear to us large'" (49).

More interesting from some points of view is the wild and beautiful landscape sometimes known as *Toledo in a Storm* (Plate XXXV). Only a part of the

city is seen: the great ravine through which winds the Tajo, the Castle of *San Servando,* and the abrupt cliff surmounted by the Alcázar. The lofty spire of the Cathedral rises from the hillside below the Alcázar instead of from the centre of the town. But it matters little, as El Greco never intended this to be an accurate view of Toledo like the other painting. Though the artists of the Netherlands excelled in landscape painting in the sixteenth century, it is impossible to recall any Spanish artists of the same period, or earlier, who produced works of this kind. El Greco may be considered as a pioneer in this field.

A few years before his death he received a visit from a fellow artist, Francisco Pacheco, the author of the *Arte de la pintura.* Pacheco gives a confused account of El Greco's method of working and adds that in reply to the question which was the more difficult, colouring or drawing, the master

PLATE XXXV

TOLEDO IN A STORM

New York. Havemeyer Collection

replied: colouring. He goes on to relate that "Dominico Greco showed me in the year 1611. a cupboard of clay models by his hand, which he made use of in his work. And what was most remarkable, the originals of all that he had painted in his life, painted in oils on smaller canvases, in a room, which, by his order, his son showed me. What will the presumptuous, and lazy say to this, will they not fall dead hearing of these examples?" (50). According to the inventory of El Greco's possessions, published by Borja de San Román, Pacheco's statement that the artist had "the originals of all that he had painted in his life" is a decided exaggeration of the facts. There are listed thirty models of clay and wax and twenty of plaster. One fails to find in this inventory any of the numerous portraits.

It was Jorge Manuel Theotocópuli who on April 12th and July 7th, 1614 wrote out this inventory of his father's worldly possessions. The document is

of great interest as it gives a detailed account of the pictures, books, personal belongings, and household goods. Borja de San Román sees in it a direct denial of the assertion that the artist lived in luxury. It is no longer possible, then, to credit the much quoted statement of José Martínez in regard to El Greco that ". . . he gained many ducats, but wasted them in excessive ostentation on his house, even to having salaried musicians so that when he ate he should enjoy all delights" (51).

On March 31st, 1614, El Greco, being upon a bed of sickness, gave to his son the power to make his will. He named him as his executor together with Luis de Castilla, Dean of the Cathedral of Cuenca, and Fray Domingo Banegas (Venegas?) a monk of the Monastery of *San Pedro Mártir,* Toledo. Jorge Manuel was his sole heir. Not until January 20th, 1616 did his son draw up the will. This document, published by Borja de San Román, gives an account

of the various brotherhoods which were to accompany the body to the church and of the masses to be said for the soul of the dead. The church which contained his first Toledan picture was chosen to receive his body after death (52). In the *Libro de entierros* of the parish of *Santo Tomé* is found the brief notice of his death on the seventh of April, 1614. It is stated also that he left no will, that he received the sacraments and was interred in the Church of *Santo Domingo el Antiguo* (53).

Although the splendid tomb described by Luis de Góngora is but a flight of fancy, the sonnet written by the poet in honour of El Greco is a fitting tribute to his undying genius:

"Stranger, this glittering tomb of porphyry fair
Imprisons now that master's hand, which drew
On canvas or dull board with touch so true,

As if the breathing forms of life were there:
His name, which loud-voiced heralds might declare
In tourney-field of Fame with challenge bold,
Is now content to gild this marble cold;
Pass on, but greet it first with reverent prayer.
The famous Greek rests here, whom Nature led
To Art, Art taught him study; light and hues
He learnt from sun and rainbow; fancy free.
Smiled on his dreams. Let pious tears be shed,
And cheer the sullen urn with spicy dews,
Press'd from the bark that shrouds the Arabian tree" (54).

NOTES

(1) Dalton, O. M. *Byzantine art and archaeology*. Oxford, 1911. p. 252.

(2) Unamuno y Jugo, Miguel de. *Il Greco* in *Rassegna d'arte*. 1914. v. 1, p. 75, *tr.*

(3) "Al Card. Farnese.

Viterbo

A'di 16 di 9bre 1570.

E' capitato in Roma un giovane Candiotto discepolo di Titiano, che a mio giuditio parmi raro nella pittura; et, fra l'altre cose, egli ha fatto un ritratto da se stesso, che fa stupire tutti questi Pittori di Roma. Io vorrei trattenerlo sotto l'ombra di V. S. Ill.ma et Rev.ma senza spesa altra del vivere, ma solo de una stanza nel Palazzo Farnese per qualche poco di tempo, cioè per fin che egli si venghi ad accomodare meglio. Però La prego et supplico sia contenta di scrivere al Co. Lud.co suo Maiord.°, che lo provegghi nel detto Palazzo di qualche stanze ad alto; ché V. S. Ill.ma farà un'opera virtuosa degna di Lei, et io gliene terró obligo. Et Le bascio con reverenza le mani.

Di V. S. Ill.ma et Rev.ma humilissimo ser.toro

Don Julio Clovio"

Cossío, M. B. *El Greco.* Madrid, 1908. v. 1, p. 8-9, note I.

(4) Justi, Karl. *Los comienzos de El Greco* in *La España moderna.* November 1914. año 26, p. 76-77, *tr.*

(5) S., J. A. *Retratos y paisaje del Greco pintados en Italia* in Sociedad española de excursiones. *Boletín.* 1916. año XXIV, p. [93] *tr.*

(6) Beruete y Moret, Aureliano de. *El Greco pintor de retratos.* [Madrid, 1914?] p. 14-15, *tr.*

(7) Vega Carpio, L. F. de. *Por la puente, Juana* in *Comedias escogidas.* Madrid, 1855. v. 2, p. 543.

(8) Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *The complete works.* v. VIII. *Exemplary novels.* Glasgow, 1902. v. 2, p. 72.

(9) Pisa, Francisco. *Descripcion de la civdad de Toledo.* Toledo, 1617. *f°* 11, *tr.*

(10) Pacheco, Francisco. *Arte de la pintvra.* Seuilla, 1649. p. 446, *tr.*

(11) Cossío. v. 1, p. 157, *tr.*

(12) Sentenach y Cabañas, Narciso. *Técnica pictórica del Greco* in Sociedad española de excursiones. *Boletín.* March 1916. año XXIV, p. 7, *tr.*

(13) "In all these computations, the equivalent is 34 *maravedís* for a *real,* and 11 *reales* for a *ducado.*"
Cossío. v. 1, p. 185. note 1, *tr.*

(14) Ceán Bermúdez, J. A. *Diccionario.* Madrid, 1800. v. 5, p. 4, *tr.*

(15) Chesterton, G. K. *Lepanto* in *Poems.* London, 1915. p. 18.

(16) Sigüenza, José de. *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo.* Madrid, 1909. v. 2, p. 410-411, *tr.*

(17) Llaguno y Amírola, Eugenio. *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España.* Madrid, 1829. v. 3, p. 349, *tr.*

(18) Sigüenza. v. 2, p. 634, *tr.*

(19) Martí y Monsó, José. *Dominico Theotocopuli interprete griego* in Sociedad castellana de excursiones. *Boletín.* November 1903. año I, p. 147, *tr.*

(20) Allende-Salazar, Juan, *and* Sánchez Cantón, F. J. *Retratos del Museo del Prado.* Madrid, 1919. p. 100, *tr.*

(21) Sentenach y Cabañas. p. 8-9, *tr.*

(22) Beruete y Moret. p. 18-19, *tr.*

(23) "Al mismo Griego en vn retrato que hizo del Autor.

SONETO.

DIuino Griego de tu obrar, no admira,
que en la imagen exceda al ser el arte,
sino que della el cielo por templarte
la vida, deuda a tu pinzel retira.
No el Sol sus rayos por su esfera gira,
como en tus lienços, basta el empeñarse,
en amagos de Dios, entre a la parte
naturaleza que vencer se mira.
Emulo de Prometheo en vn retrato,

no afectes lumbre, el hurto vital dexa,
que hasta mi alma a tanto ser ayuda.
Y contra veinte y nueue años de trato,
entre tu mano, y la de Dios, perpleja,
qual es el cuerpo en que ha de viuir duda."
Paravicino y Arteaga, H. F. *Obras posthvmas.* Madrid, 1641. *f°* 63.

(24) Borja de San Román y Fernández, Francisco de. *El Greco en Toledo.* Madrid, 1910. p. 187.

(25) Román, Jerónimo. *Chronica de la Orden de los ermitanos del glorioso padre Sancto Augustin.* Salamanca, 1569. *f°* 64. *tr.*

(26) Dalton. p. 664-666.

(27) "Your business is to paint the souls of men —
Man's soul, and it's a fire, smoke... no it's not . . .
It's vapour done up like a new-born babe —
(In that shape when you die it leaves your mouth)"
Browning, Robert. *Fra Lippo Lippi* in *The poems and plays of Robert Browning.* London and New York [1908]. p. 296.

(28) Dante Alighieri. *Divine comedy. Paradiso.* Canto XXXII. Tr. by Longfellow. Boston and New York [°1895]. p. 596-597.

(29) Unamuno y Jugo. p. 76, 78-79.

(30) León, Luis de. *The Ascension* in

Churton, Edward. *Gongora.* London, 1862. v. 2, p. 249.

(31) Dalton. p. 35.

(32) Granada, Luis de. *Obras.* Madrid, 1848. v. 1, p. 59, *tr.*

(33) Dante Alighieri. *The divine comedy. Paradise.* Canto XII. Tr. by Cary. New York [°1897]. p. 372.

(34) Berenson, Bernhard. *The Florentine painters of the Renaissance.* New York and London [°1908]. p. 78.

(35) Cossío. v. 1, p. 327, *tr.*

(36) King, G. G. *A brief account of the military orders in Spain.* New York, 1921. p. xi.

(37) Vasari, Giorgio. *Lives of the most eminent painters, sculptors, and architects.* London, 1852. v. 5, p. 335.

(38) Cossío. v. 1, p. 294, *tr.*

(39) As an edition was printed in Venice in 1560 he may have purchased it there.

(40) Santos, Francisco. *Descripcion breve del monasterio de S. Lorenzo el real del Escorial.* Madrid, 1667. *v°* *f°* 162, *tr.*

(41) Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorvm.* Alcalá de Henares, 1572. *v°* *f°* clxxviij.

(42) Paravicino y Arteaga, H. F. *Sonnet on the tomb of the painter who was El Greco of Toledo* in Walsh, Thomas. *Hispanic anthology.* New York and London, 1920. p. 309.

(43) León, Luis de. *To Felipe Ruiz* in Walsh, Thomas. *The pilgrim kings.* New York, 1915. p. 123.

(44) Dalton. fig. 408.
(45) Dante Alighieri. *The divine comedy. Paradise.* Canto XXIII. Tr. by Cary. New York [°1897]. p. 419.
(46) Dante Alighieri. *The divine comedy. Purgatory.* Canto II. Tr. by Cary. New York [°1897]. p. 188.
(47) Borja de San Román y Fernández. p. 191.
(48) Bible. *N. T. Rev.* 6: 9-11.
(49) Cossío. v. 1, p. 455-456, *tr.*
(50) Pacheco. p. 337, *tr.*
(51) Martínez, José. *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura.* Madrid, 1866. p. 183, *tr.*

(52) As early as August 26th, 1612, Jorge Manuel had taken possession of a vault and altar in the Church of *Santo Domingo el Antiguo* to be used as a burial place for his father and himself. Borja de San Román devotes a chapter in *El Greco en Toledo* to a discussion of the exact location of this vault in the church. That the spot is now occupied by a baroque *retablo* and that Juan and Pedro Alcocer were buried in the place chosen by El Greco and his son complicates the matter. It is possible that after the burial in *Santo Domingo el Antiguo* of Jorge Manuel's first wife, in 1617, the family no longer owned the vault. In her will dated 1629 his second wife declares that she wishes to be buried " . . . in the vault which the said Jorge manuel and I hold in the

monastery of *san torcaz* [*San Torcuato*]..." (Borja de San Román y Fernández. p. 212, *tr.*) Borja de San Román had the vault in *Santo Domingo el Antiguo* opened but he found it impossible to come to a definite conclusion as to which were the remains of the famous Greek.

(53) "'dominico greco En siete del falescio dominico greco no hizo testam^to· Recibio los sacram^tos· enterrosse en Sto domingo el antiguo dio belas.'"

Cossío, M. B. *El Greco.* Barcelona [19-]. (*El arte en España*) p. 6.

(54) Góngora y Argote, Luis de. *On the painter, El Greco* in Churton, Edward. *Gongora.* London, 1862. v. 2, p. 230.

PARTIAL LIST OF WORKS

The paintings which are starred are described in the text.

AUSTRIA

VIENNA

AUSPITZ, STEPHAN VON

Portrait of San Ignacio de Loyola also known as *Luis de Gonzaga*

KAISERLICHE GEMÄLDEGALERIE

**The Adoration of the Magi*

Portrait of a Man (Attributed)

CANADA

MONTREAL

VAN HORNE, The late SIR WILLIAM

Portrait of a Nobleman of the House of Leiva

Head of Saint Maurice

Holy Family (Attributed)

ENGLAND

BARNARD CASTLE. BOWES MUSEUM

The Tears of Saint Peter

LONDON

CARFAX GALLERY

Genre Scene

DAVIES, MISS GERTRUDE

Head of Saint John the Baptist
The Expolio

HARRIS, LIONEL, ESQUIRE

Christ's Farewell to the Virgin
The Crucifixion
The Tears of Saint Peter

NATIONAL GALLERY

**The Purification of the Temple*
Saint Jerome
**The Tears of Saint Peter*
**The Prayer in the Garden*
Head of Saint Peter

STIRLING-MAXWELL, SIR JOHN

**Portrait of a Lady*
Portrait of a Man

VINCENT, SIR EDGAR

Supper in the House of Simon (Attributed)

YARBOROUGH, LORD

**The Purification of the Temple*

RICHMOND (SURREY)

COOK, SIR FREDERICK

**The Purification of the Temple*

FRANCE

BAYONNE

MUSÉE BONNAT

Saint Jerome

**Supposed Portrait of the Duke of Benavente*

LILLE

MUSÉE DE LILLE

Saint Francis

The Prayer in the Garden

LYON

MUSÉE DE LYON

The Expolio

PARIS

CHERAMY COLLECTION

**Saint Bernard*

CHERFILS COLLECTION

Genre Scene

ERRAZU, DON LUIS DE

**Supposed Portrait of Julián Romero*

KANN COLLECTION (Formerly)

Bust Portrait of Fernando Niño de Guevara

MUSÉE NATIONAL DU LOUVRE

**The Crucifixion*

**Saint Louis* also known as *Ferdinand of Aragón*

MANZI, M. LOUIS

Saint Martin

ZULOAGA Y ZANORA, DON IGNACIO

Saint Francis
The Annunciation
**The Opening of the Fifth Seal* also known as *Profane Love*
Holy Family

STRASBOURG

MUSÉE MUNICIPAL DES BEAUX-ARTS

Head of the Virgin

GERMANY

DRESDEN

GEMÄLDEGALERIE

**The Healing of the Blind*

MUNICH

ALTE PINAKOTHEK

The Expolio
**Portrait of Cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga*
**Laocoön* (On loan)

HEINEMANN COLLECTION

**The Immaculate Conception*

HUNGARY

BUDAPEST

HERZOG, M. VON

Saint Andrew
The Prayer in the Garden

SZÉPMÜVÉSZETI MÚZEUM

Saint Mary Magdalene

ITALY

NAPLES

MUSEO NAZIONALE

**Boy Lighting a Candle*

**Portrait of Julio Clovio*

PARMA

REALE GALLERIA

**The Healing of the Blind*

ROME

DRAGO, PRINCE DEL

The Expolio

GALLERIA NAZIONALE. PALAZZO CORSINI

The Baptism of Christ

The Adoration of the Shepherds

ROUMANIA

BUCHAREST

PINACOTECA

Portrait of Diego Covarrubias

**Saint Sebastian*

**The Betrothal of the Virgin*

The Adoration of the Shepherds

RUSSIA

PETROGRAD

HERMITAGE

Portrait of a Poet (Attributed)

SCOTLAND

KEIR (DUMFRIES)

STIRLING-MAXWELL, ARCHIBALD, ESQUIRE

**Supposed Portrait of Pompeo Leoni*
**Portrait of the Lady of the Flower*
Glory of Philip the Second also known as *The Dream of Philip the Second*

SPAIN

AVILA

CATHEDRAL

Supposed Portrait of Don Garcia Ibáñez de Mugica Bracamonte

CUDILLERO (PROVINCE OF THE ASTURIAS)

SELGAS, DON FORTUNATO DE

The Immaculate Conception

EL ESCORIAL

REAL MONASTERIO DE SAN LORENZO DEL ESCORIAL

SALAS CAPITULARES

**Saint Maurice*
**Glory of Philip the Second* also known as *The Dream of Philip the Second*
Saint Francis
Saint Francis

SACRISTÍA

**Saint Peter*
**Saint Ildefonso* also known as *Saint Eugene*

GRANADA

BARRECHEGUREN, DON RAMÓN

Saint Francis

CARO RIAÑO, DON AGUSTÍN

Saint Francis

COLEGIO NOVICIADO DE LA COMPAÑÍA DE JESÚS

Saint Francis

ILLESCAS

CHURCH OF THE HOSPITAL OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CARIDAD

**Charity*
**The Coronation of the Virgin*
**The Annunciation*
**The Nativity*
**Saint Ildefonso Writing*

MADRID

ALBA, DUKE OF

The Crucifixion

BERUETE Y MORET, DON AURELIANO DE

**Portrait of an Old Man* also known as *Portrait of the Artist*
**Christ Embracing the Cross*

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL

Saint John the Evangelist (A sketch)

CASA-TORRES, MARQUIS OF

The Tears of Saint Peter
**Saint Sebastian*

Bust Portrait of Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino y Arteaga

CASTRO SERNA, MARQUIS OF
Saint Jerome

CERRALBO, MARQUIS OF
Saint Francis
Saint John the Evangelist

CHURCH OF SAN GINÉS. CONGREGACIÓN DEL S^mo. SACRAMENTO
The Purification of the Temple (Attributed)

GARCÍA, The late DON R.
Saint Francis

IBARRA, HEIRS OF SEÑOR
Christ Bestowing a Blessing

INSTITUTO DE VALENCIA DE DON JUAN
Allegory of the Hermit Life of the Camaldulians

ITURBE, SEÑORA DE
Christ Bestowing a Blessing

MENGS, SEÑOR
Christ Embracing the Cross

MONTEJO, SEÑORA
Saint Jerome

MORET Y QUINTANA, SEÑOR
Saint Francis

MUSEO DEL PRADO
**The Annunciation*

*The Trinity
*The Baptism of Christ
*The Crucifixion
*The Resurrection
*The Coronation of the Virgin
*The Pentecost
Christ Embracing the Cross
Holy Family (Attributed)
*Saint Benedict
Saint Francis
Head of the Virgin
Saint Anthony of Padua
Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Francis
Saint John the Evangelist
Saint Paul
Portrait of a Monk
Portrait of a Man
Portrait of a Man
Portrait of a Man
Portrait of a Man also known as *The Licentiate Jerónimo de Ceballos*
Portrait of Rodrigo Vázquez
*Portrait of a Doctor possibly *Don Rodrigo de la Fuente*
*Portrait of a Man
Portrait of a Man

NAVAS, DON LUIS

Christ Embracing the Cross

PARCENT, DUCHESS OF

Christ Bestowing a Blessing

PERINAT, MARCHIONESS OF
Saint Peter and Saint Paul

PIDAL, MARQUIS OF
Saint Francis

QUINTO, DON RICARDO PASCUAL
Saint Francis

RETANA Y GAMBOA, SEÑOR
Christ Embracing the Cross

ROTA, VISCOUNT OF
Angel Musicians

SALVATIERRA, MARQUIS OF
Saint Francis

SANTAMARÍA DE SILVA, MARQUIS OF
Saint Jerome

TORRECILLA, MARQUIS DE LA
Portrait of a Shod Trinitarian

URQUIJO, MARQUIS OF
The Annunciation

VEGA-INCLÁN, MARQUIS DE LA
Saint Louis also known as *Ferdinand of Aragón*

OLOT (PROVINCE OF GERONA)

PARISH CHURCH
Christ Embracing the Cross

PALENCIA

CATHEDRAL

Saint Sebastian

SEVILLA

CASTRO, SEÑOR

Saint Francis

MUSEO PROVINCIAL

**Portrait of an Artist* also known as *Portrait of the Son of the Artist*

SITGES

MUSEU DE CAU FERRAT

The Tears of Saint Peter
Saint Mary Magdalene

TOLEDO

CASA DEL GRECO

Saint Francis
The Tears of Saint Peter
Portrait of Don Diego Covarrubias (Attributed)

CATHEDRAL

SACRISTÍA

**The Expolio*
Christ Bestowing a Blessing
Saint Andrew
Saint Philip
Saint Simon
Saint John the Evangelist

Saint Thaddeus
Saint Matthew
Saint Paul
Saint Peter
Saint James the Less
Saint James the Great (Santiago el Mayor)
Saint Bartholomew
Saint Thomas
The Tears of Saint Peter
Saint Dominic
**Virgin Giving the Chasuble to Saint Ildefonso* (Attributed) *Polychrome wooden relief, estofado*

ANTESACRISTÍA

Saint Francis

TESORO

The Expolio

CHURCH OF LA MAGDALENA

Saint Joseph and the Christ Child

CHAPEL OF SAN JOSÉ

**Saint Joseph and the Christ Child*
**The Coronation of the Virgin*

CHURCH OF SAN NICOLÁS

Saint Dominic
The Crucifixion
The Annunciation

CHURCH OF SAN ROMÁN

The Immaculate Conception

CHURCH OF SAN VICENTE
The Immaculate Conception

CHURCH OF SANTA LEOCADIA
Veronica
The Expolio

CHURCH OF SANTO DOMINGO EL ANTIGUO
**The Adoration of the Shepherds*
**The Adoration of the Shepherds*
**The Holy Face*
**The Resurrection*
**Saint John the Baptist*
**Saint John the Evangelist*
**Veronica*

CHURCH OF SANTO TOMÉ
**The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*

COLEGIO DE DONCELLAS OR DE LOS REMEDIOS
Saint Francis

CHURCH OF THE HOSPITAL OF SAN JUAN BAUTISTA
**Portrait of Cardinal Tavera*
**Holy Family*
**The Tears of Saint Peter*
**The Baptism of Christ*
**Saint Francis*
Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist

HOSPITAL OF SANTA ANA
Holy Family (Attributed)

MUSEO DEL GRECO

Portrait of the Blessed Juan de Avila
Portrait of Don Antonio Covarrubias
Portrait of Don Antonio Covarrubias
Portrait of Don Diego Covarrubias
The Crucifixion
**Saint Bernardino of Siena*
**View and Plan of Toledo*
**Christ Bestowing a Blessing*
Saint Andrew
Saint Bartholomew
Saint Philip
Saint John the Evangelist
Saint Thaddeus
Saint Matthew
Saint Paul
Saint Peter
Saint Simon
Saint James the Great (Santiago el Mayor)
Saint James the Less
Saint Thomas

VEGA-INCLÁN, MARQUIS DE LA

**Portrait of Doctor Pisa*

VALENCIA

SANZ BREMÓN, SEÑOR

Saint Dominic

VILLANUEVA Y GELTRÚ (PROVINCE OF BARCELONA)

MUSEO BALAGUER

**The Annunciation*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

**Portrait of Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino y Arteaga*

Saint Dominic

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE ART INSTITUTE

**The Assumption*

MERION, PENNSYLVANIA

THE BARNES FOUNDATION

The Expolio

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

BLUMENTHAL, GEORGE, ESQUIRE

The Adoration of the Shepherds

DURAND-RUEL GALLERIES

Saint Francis

Supper in the House of Simon (Attributed)

FRICK COLLECTION

**Portrait of Vincentio Anastagi*

**The Purification of the Temple*

**Saint Jerome*

HAVEMEYER COLLECTION

**Portrait of Fernando Niño de Guevara*

**Toledo in a Storm*

THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA
Holy Family
**Pietà*
**Miniature of a Lady*
**Miniature of a Man*
**Saint James the Great (Santiago el Mayor)*
**Saint James the Great (Santiago el Mayor)*
**Saint Jerome*
**Head of Saint Francis*
**Saint Dominic*
**Saint Mary Magdalene* (Attributed)
The Virgin (Attributed)
Saint John (Attributed)

HUNTINGTON, ARCHER MILTON, ESQUIRE
An Evangelist also known as *The Holy Simeon*

LEHMAN, PHILIP, ESQUIRE
Saint Jerome

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
**The Adoration of the Shepherds*
Holy Family (Attributed)

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
JOHNSON COLLECTION
Portrait of a Lady
Pietà

PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM OF ART
The Crucifixion

WIDENER COLLECTION
*The Virgin with Saint Agnes and Another Saint
*Saint Martin and the Beggar
*The Family of El Greco (Attributed)

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND
RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN
Saint Andrew

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY
The Tears of Saint Peter

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS
WORCESTER ART MUSEUM
Saint Mary Magdalene

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INDEX

PAGE

The Adoration of the Magi 12
The Adoration of the Shepherds (New York. Metropolitan Museum) 120-121
The Adoration of the Shepherds (Toledo. *Santo Domingo el Antiguo.* Attic).... 27
The Adoration of the Shepherds (Toledo. *Santo Domingo el Antiguo.* Side altar) 28
Agnes, Saint. Representation 105
Aguilar, Diego de 35
Alba, Duke of 42
Alcántara Bridge, Toledo..... 128
Alcántara, Knight of. Representation 94
Alcázar, Toledo 18, 128, 130
Alcocer, Juan 140
Alcocer, Pedro 140
Allende-Salazar, Juan, cited.....49, 137
Alte Pinakothek, Munich 50
Amadigi 106
Anastagi, Vincentio. Portrait 14
Andalusian School 40
Angeles, Juan de los, quoted 75
Angelo, Castle of Sant' 11
Anne of Austria 96
Annunciation 57
The Annunciation (Illescas. *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad*)..... 112
The Annunciation (Madrid. Prado)..... 28-30
The Annunciation (Villanueva y Geltrú. *Museo Balaguer*)..... 97-99
Apocalypse 118, 125
Aragón, Enrique de 19
Aragón, Doña María de 96
Archway of the Blood of Christ, Toledo 18-19
Ariosto 23, 106

Aristotle 23
Art, Byzantine 3, 4, 70-71, 82, 98
Art, Italian 40, 41
Art, Veneto-Byzantine 4
The Art Institute, Chicago 27
Assumption 26, 57, 122
The Assumption 26, 27, 133
Augustine, Saint 63-64
  Order of 63
  Representations 72, 76
Auto-da-fé 81
Avila, Hernando de 67

Banegas, Domingo *see* Venegas, Domingo
The Baptism (Madrid. Prado) 97-98
The Baptism (Toledo. *San Juan Bautista*) 115
Bartolommeo, Fra 90
Bassano, Leandro 8, 12
Battle of Saint Quentin 38
Bayona de Tajuña *see* Titulcia (Madrid). Church
Bayonne. *Musée Bonnat* 50
Beatrice, Infanta 63
Benavente, Duke of. Supposed Portrait.... 50
Berenson, Bernhard, cited 90, 139
Beruete y Moret, Aureliano de, cited 49, 106, 136, 137
  quoted 16-17, 52-54
  Madrid 50
Bessarione, Cardinal. Portrait 11
The Betrothal of the Virgin 112
Bible. *N. T. Rev.*, cited 140
  quoted 125
Bibliography 159-168
Blanche of Castilla 93
Borja de San Román y Fernández, Francisco, cited..24, 25, 60, 115, 131, 132, 138, 140-141
  quoted 60, 125, 140-141
Boston. Museum of Fine Arts..... 55
Boy Lighting a Candle..... 10
Bronzino, Alessandro 23
Browning, Robert. *Fra Lippo Lippi*, quoted 138
Bucharest. *Pinacoteca* 85, 112
The Burial of the Count of Orgaz 4, 59, 66-79, 83
Byzantine art 3, 4, 70-71, 82, 98

Byzantine mosaics 30-31, 83, 84
Byzantine School 7

Campaña, Pedro de 41
Candia 7, 48
Carbajal, Luis de 40
Carlos, Infante Don. Representation..... 42
Carreño de Miranda, Juan..... 124
Casa del Greco, Toledo 19-20
Casa-Torres, Marquis of. Madrid..... 85
Castilla 4, 5, 18, 37
Castilla, Diego de 24, 25
Castilla, Luis de 132
Castle of *San Servando,* Toledo 130
Castle of Sant'Angelo, Rome 11
Castro Cimbrón, Baltasar de 33
Cathedral of Saint Mark, Venice..... 7
Ceán Bermúdez, Juan Agustín, cited 96, 137
Cellini, Benvenuto 11
Autobiography, cited 11
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de 19, 106
Ilustre fregona, cited 50, 136
quoted 21
Céspedes, Pablo de 41
Chapel of *San José,* Toledo 91, 100-105
Charity 112
Charles the Fifth 106
Chesterton, G. K. *Lepanto,* cited..... 137
quoted 37
Chicago. The Art Institute 27
Christ, Representations of 5, 13, 29-32, 68, 70, 71, 74
80-82, 92, 98, 100, 102, 104, 105, 114, 119-120
Christ Bestowing a Blessing 81
Christ Embracing the Cross 81
Christ Pantokrater. Representation 81
Church of *San Torcuato,* Toledo 141
Church of *San Vicente,* Toledo 122
Church of *Santo Domingo el Antiguo,* Toledo
..... 24-28, 43, 133, 140,141
Church of *Santo Tomé,* Toledo 63-65, 77, 133
Church of the Hospital of *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad,* Illescas 103, 110-112
Church of the Hospital of *San Juan Bautista,* Toledo 114-116
Churton, Edward, cited 139, 141

Cincinnato, Romulo 44
Città Vecchia 14
Clovio, Julio 8-10, 15, 17, 56, 135
Portrait (lost) 11
(Naples. *Museo Nazionale*)..... 10
Coello, Alonso Sánchez *see* Sánchez Coello, Alonso
Colegio de Religiosos Calzados de la Orden de San Agustín, Madrid 96, 97
Colegio de San Bernardino, Toledo 110
Compostela *see* Santiago de Compostela
Constantinople 7
Convent of *San Francisco,* Illescas..... 111
Cook, *Sir* Frederick. Richmond (Surrey).. 13
Córdoba 41
Cornaro, Luigi 15
The Coronation of the Virgin (Illescas. *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad*)....103, 112
The Coronation of the Virgin (Madrid. Prado) 103, 112
The Coronation of the Virgin (Toledo. *San José*) 103
Cossío, Manuel Bartolomé, cited ....27, 28, 36, 59 91, 94, 97, 101, 106, 111, 112, 122, 136, 139, 140 quoted ..29-30, 91-92, 97-98, 129, 135, 136, 141
Covarrubias, Antonio de 76
Covarrubias, Diego de 76, 79
Crete 4, 7, 71, 117
El Cristo de la Luz, Toledo 22
The Crucifixion (Madrid. Prado) 100
The Crucifixion (Paris. Louvre) 82-83, 100
Cruz, Juan de la 79
Cuebas, Doña Gerónima de las 60
Cuenca. Cathedral 132

Dalton, O. M., cited 135, 138, 139, 140
quoted 3, 70, 83-84
Dante Alighieri. *Divina commedia,* cited 138, 139, 140
quoted 73-74, 89, 123
The Daughter of El Greco see *Portrait of a Lady*
Deësis 70
Díaz, Ramón. Jerez de la Frontera 61

Discorsi della vita sobria, cited..... 15
Don Quixote 23
Dormition of the Virgin 71
The Dove, Representations of 98, 99, 121
The Dream of Philip the Second see *Glory of Philip the Second*
Dresden. *Gemäldegalerie* 12

Ejecutorias 108
El Escorial. *Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial* ...17, 36-38, 40, 43, 107
Church 44
Sacristía 84, 107
Salas Capitulares 106
Escorial *see* El Escorial
Estremadura 40
The Expolio 4, 24, 30-35

The Family of El Greco 57-59
Farnese, Cardinal Alessandro....8, 9, 15, 17, 135
Portrait 11
Farnese Collection, Rome 10
Farnese family 11
Farnese Palace, Rome 8, 12, 96, 135
Fernández Navarrete, Juan, *el Mudo* 41
Flemish School 58
Florence. *Duomo* 29
Florentines 20
Fra Bartolommeo 90
Francis, Saint 89-90
Representations 89, 90
Frick Collection, New York 13, 14, 16
Fuente, Rodrigo de la 49-50

Gabriel, Angel. Representations 28. 98
Gate of Visagra, Toledo 127, 129
Gaul 46
Glory of Philip the Second 78, 106-109
God the Father, Representation of 98
Góngora y Argote, Luis de. *On the painter, El Greco*, cited 141
quoted 133-134

Granada, Luis de, cited 139
quoted 86-87
Grand Canal, Venice 7
El Greco
Architect 24-25, 111
Astigmatism, Theory of 2, 3, 95
Birth 1, 7, 48, 117, 135
Burial 133
Characteristics .....
2, 13, 27, 84-86, 95, 100, 118, 123, 124
Contemporaries 20-21, 25, 41, 49, 76, 79, 90
Death 133, 141
Education 1, 8, 10, 135
The Expolio quarrel 33-35
Family 59-60
Form of name 23-24
Heir 132
Illness 132
Influence of Byzantine art .....
..... 2, 4, 6, 7, 30, 31, 70, 71, 82-84, 95, 121
Influence of Italian art 12, 13, 17, 26-29
Influence of Spanish mysticism .....
..... 5, 6, 81, 86, 95, 101, 120, 123
Insanity, Theory of 2, 3
Inventory of possessions 131-132
Lawsuits 67, 97, 101, 110-111
Learning 23
Library 23, 25, 106
Manner of living 132
Personality 1, 2, 116
Pupils 62
Sculptor 25-26, 111-112, 115-116
Technique 1-4, 16, 30
32, 51-54, 56, 90, 91, 95, 97-98, 108, 130-131
Tomb 140-141
Visit of Pacheco 130
Will 132, 133
Works, Partial list of 142-158
Guadarrama, Sierra de *see* Sierra de Guadarrama
Guevara, Fernando Niño de. Portrait 52-54
Guzmán, Doña Gregoria de 60, 140

Hapsburgs 38, 93

Havemeyer Collection, New York 52
Head of Saint Francis 90
The Healing of the Blind 12
Heinemann Collection, Munich 98, 122, 123
Hernández, Sebastián 35
Herrera, Juan de 24, 38
The Hispanic Society of America, New York 28, 55-56, 61, 62, 87-91, 102
The Holy Face 28
Holy Family (New York. The Hispanic Society of America) 91-92
Holy Family (Toledo. *San Juan Bautista*) 115
Homer 23
cited 75
Hospital of *Don Joan Tavera see* Hospital of *San Juan Bautista,* Toledo
Hospital of *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad,* Illescas 111
Hospital of *San Juan Bautista,* Toledo....127-129
Humanities 23

Ildefonso, Saint 112, 129
Representations 112-113, 128
Illescas
Church of the Hospital of *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad* 103, 110-112
Convent of *San Francisco* 111
Hospital of *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad* 111
Ilustre fregona, cited 50
quoted 21
Immaculate Conception 118, 122
The Immaculate Conception (Munich. Heinemann Collection) 98, 122-124
The Immaculate Conception (Toledo. *San Vicente*) 26-27, 122-123
Inquisition 48, 50, 79-80
Isabel Clara Eugenia, Infanta. Representation 57
Isabel of Valois (Isabel of the Peace)..... 42
Italian art 40, 41
Italy 1, 5, 10, 17, 23, 24, 40, 58, 61

James the Great, Saint. Representations 87-88, 103

Jerez de la Frontera. Ramón Díaz 61
Jerome, Saint. Representation 15, 88-89
Jesuits 21, 109-110
John of Austria, Don 37
Representation 42
John the Baptist, Saint. Representations 69-71, 73, 74, 77, 98, 103
John the Evangelist, Saint 118, 125
Representations 29, 100, 103, 116, 126
Jordán, Esteban 35
Joseph, Saint 101
Representations 92, 101, 102, 120
Judas. Representations 119-120
Julian, Saint. Representation 94
Justi, Karl, cited 136
quoted 9-10

Kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie, Vienna 12
Kehrer, Hugo Ludwig, cited 77
Keir (Dumfries). Archibald Stirling-Maxwell 54
King, Georgiana Goddard, cited 94, 139

Lafond, Paul, cited 36
Lake Geneva 45
Lampérez y Romea, Vicente, cited 25, 128
Landscape of Mount Sinai 10
Laocoön 126
Laocoön 126-128
Laocoön (Vatican) 126
Last Judgment 69-70
Laurel de Apolo, cited 41
Laurence, Day of Saint 38
León, Luis de 79
The Ascension, cited 138
quoted 80
To Felipe Ruiz, cited 139
quoted 118
Leoni, Pompeo 43, 111
Portrait 43
Levy, Samuel 19
Liaño, Teodoro Felipe de. *Portrait of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia* 57
Libro de entierros, cited 133

Llaguno y Amírola, Eugenio, cited 59, 137
quoted 44
Loga, Valerian von, cited 90-91
London
National Gallery 13, 86, 118, 119
Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, *Bart*..... 16, 59
Lord Yarborough 13
López, Juan 77, 83
Lorenzana, Cardinal, cited 36
Louis, Saint. Representations 92-94

Madrid 39, 111
Aureliano de Beruete y Moret 50
Marquis of Casa-Torres 85
Colegio de Religiosos Calzados de la Orden de San Agustín 96, 97
Museo del Prado .....
...27, 28, 48, 49, 56, 57, 61, 97, 112, 121, 127
Malta, Siege of 14
Mantegna, Andrea. *The Prayer in the Garden* 119
Marcello, Pope. Portrait 11
Mariana, Juan de 21
Martí y Monsó, José, cited 137
quoted 48
Martin, Saint. Representation 105
Martínez, José, cited 140
quoted 132
Martínez de Castañeda, Diego 33
Mary Magdalene, Saint. Representations ...
..... 29, 73, 100
Mary Tudor *see* Tudor, Mary
Maurice, Saint 45-46
Representations 43, 45-47
Mélida, José Ramón, cited 30, 98
Melozzo da Forlì 48
Merlo, Giraldo de 114
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York .. 120
Michael, Saint. Representation 71
Michael Angelo Buonarroti..12, 23, 35, 41, 95, 96
The Entombment 29
The Last Judgment 69
Miniature of a Lady 55-57
Miniature of a Man 55-56
Monastery of *San Pedro Mártir*, Toledo 132

Monegro, Juan Bautista de 25, 43
Monreale. Cathedral 30
Montoya, Alejo de 33
Morales, Doña Alfonsa de los 60, 140
Morales, Luis de 40
Moro, Antonio 42
Mosaics, Byzantine 30-31, 83, 84
Mount Sinai *see Landscape of Mount Sinai*
Munich
Alte Pinakothek 50
Heinemann Collection 98, 122, 123
Muñoz de Madrid, Andrés *see* Núñez de Madrid, Andrés
Murillo, Bartolomé Esteban 104, 123, 124
Musée Bonnat, Bayonne 50
Musée National du Louvre, Paris.....82, 92, 100
Museo Balaguer, Villanueva y Geltrú..... 97
Museo del Greco, Toledo 110
Museo del Prado, Madrid .....
...27, 28, 48, 49, 56, 57, 61, 97, 112, 121, 127
Museo Nazionale, Naples 10
Museo Provincial, Sevilla 52
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 55
Mysticism, Spanish ..2, 5, 6, 79, 80, 101, 120, 123

Naples. *Museo Nazionale* 10
National Gallery London 13, 86, 118, 119
The Nativity 112
Neptune 127
Netherlands, School of the 32, 130
New York
Frick Collection 13, 14, 16
Havemeyer Collection 52
The Hispanic Society of America .....
.....28, 55-56, 61, 62, 87-91, 102
Metropolitan Museum of Art 120
Niño de Guevara, Fernando. Portrait 52-54
Notes ..... 135 - 141
Nunciva, Hernando de 67
Nuñez de Madrid, Andrés 65, 77

Office of the Madonna 9
The Opening of the Fifth Seal 124-126

Order of Saint Augustine 63
Order of Shod Carmelite Nuns 101
Order of Shod Trinitarians 55
Orgaz 65
Orgaz, Count of *see* Ruiz de Toledo, Gonzalo, Count of Orgaz
Orsini, Fulvio 10

Pacheco, Francisco 130
Arte de la pintura, cited 130, 136, 140
quoted 23, 131
Palaces, Veneto-Byzantine 4
Palencia. Cathedral 84
Pallas 127
Palomino de Castro y Velasco, Acisclo Antonio, cited 110, 111
Pantoja de la Cruz, Juan 42, 57
Paravicino y Arteaga, Hortensio Félix. *Al mismo Griego en vn retrato que hizo del autor,* cited 55
quoted 137-138
Portrait 55
Sonnet on the tomb of the painter who was El Greco of Toledo, cited 139
quoted 117
Pareja, Juan de 62
Paris. *Musée National du Louvre* ...82, 92, 100
Paseo del Tránsito, Toledo 19
The Passion 32
Patricio, Eugenio 111
Paul, Saint 108
Paul the Third, Pope 17
Pentecost 118
The Pentecost 121-122
Peter, Saint. Representations 73, 84
Peter the Cruel 19
Petrarch 23
Philadelphia. Widener Collection 103, 105
Philip the Second .....
...2, 17, 36-40, 42-45, 48, 49, 78, 107, 109-110
Representation of 108
Pietà 40
Pietà 28-30
Pisa, Doctor. Portrait 55

Pisa, Francisco, cited 136
quoted 21
Pisa. *Campo Santo* 71
Plutarch 23
Ponz, Antonio, cited 111
Portrait of a Doctor 49
Portrait of a Lady 16-17, 59
Portrait of a Man (Caballero de la Mano al Pecho) 48-49
Portrait of a Young Man in a Red Biretta 11
Portrait of an Artist 52
Portrait of an Old Man 50-51
Portrait of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese .. 11
Portrait of Cardinal Bessarione 11
Portrait of Cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga ... 50
Portrait of Cardinal Tavera 115
Portrait of Doctor Pisa 55
Portrait of Fernando Niño de Guevara.... 52-54
Portrait of Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino y Arteaga 55
Portrait of Julián Romero see *Supposed Portrait of Julián Romero*
Portrait of Julio Clovio (lost) 11
Portrait of Julio Clovio (Naples. *Museo Nazionale*) 10
Portrait of Pompeo Leoni 43
Portrait of Pope Marcello 11
Portrait of S. Angelo [Cardinal Farnesio Ranuccio] 11
Portrait of the Artist 8, 15, 135
Portrait of the Daughter of El Greco see *Portrait of a Lady*
Portrait of the Duke of Benavente see *Supposed Portrait of the Duke of Benavente*
Portrait of the Lady of the Flower..... 54
Portrait of Vincentio Anastagi 14-15
Posada de la Sangre, Toledo.....19, 21
Prado, Blas de 40, 67
The Prayer in the Garden.....118-120
Preboste, Francisco 61-62
The Virgin with the Crystal Dish (Attributed) 62
Primitives, Spanish 71, 122
Profane Love see *The Opening of the Fifth Seal*
The Purification of the Temple (London.

National Gallery) 13-14
The Purification of the Temple (London. Lord Yarborough) 13-14
The Purification of the Temple (New York. Frick Collection) 13-14
The Purification of the Temple (Richmond. *Sir* Frederick Cook) 13-14

Quentin, Battle of Saint 38
Quevedo y Villegas, Francisco Gómez de, quoted 49
Quiroga, Cardinal Gaspar de 15, 77, 79
Portrait 50
Quixote, Don 23

Rabula *see* Syriac Gospel of Rabula
Ramírez, Martin 101
Raphael 41
La Disputa 69
Renaissance 5
The Resurrection (Madrid. Prado) 97, 99-100, 127
The Resurrection (Toledo. *Santo Domingo el Antiguo*) 28
Ribera, José. *The Trinity* 27
Richmond (Surrey). *Sir* Frederick Cook.... 13
Rizo Calandil, Miguel 48
Rizo Carcandil, Miguel *see* Rizo Calandil, Miguel
Rodríguez Marín, Francisco 50
Román, Jerónimo, cited 138
quoted 64-65
Rome 8, 9
12, 13, 40, 41, 53, 56, 57, 69, 126, 135
Castle of Sant' Angelo 11
Farnese Collection 10
Farnese Palace 8, 12, 96, 135
Vatican 126
Romero, Julián 94
Supposed Portrait 93-94
Ruiz de Toledo, Gonzalo, Count of Orgaz 63-66
Representations 71, 74

S., J. A., cited 136
quoted 10-11
Saint Angelo. Portrait 11
Saint Benedict 28
Saint Bernard 28
Saint Bernardino of Siena 110
Saint Dominic 87
Saint Eugene see *Saint Ildefonso*
Saint Francis 115
Saint Ildefonso 84
Saint Ildefonso Writing 112-114
Saint James the Great (New York. The Hispanic Society of America) 87
Saint James the Great (full-length) (New York. The Hispanic Society of America) 87-88, 102
Saint Jerome (New York. Frick Collection) 15-16
Saint Jerome (New York. The Hispanic Society of America) 88-89
Saint John of Jerusalem, Knights of..... 14
Saint John the Baptist 27
Saint John the Evangelist 27
Saint Joseph 102
Saint Laurence's Day 38
Saint Louis 92-93
Saint Martin and the Beggar 59, 105-106
Saint Mary Magdalene 89
Saint Maurice 31, 45-48, 91, 106-107
Saint Peter 84
Saint Quentin, Battle of 38
Saint Sebastian (Bucharest. *Pinacoteca*)... 85
Saint Sebastian (Madrid. Marquis of Casa-Torres) 85, 86
Saint Sebastian (Palencia. Cathedral)..... 84-85
San Servando, Castle of. Toledo 130
Sánchez Cantón, Francisco Javier, cited ... 49
Sánchez Coello, Alonso 42, 57
Sancho the Brave 63
Sandoval y Rojas, Cardinal, quoted 35-36
Sant' Angelo, Castle of. Rome 11
Santa María la Blanca, Toledo 22
Santiago, Knight of. Representation 93
Santiago de Compostela 88
Santos, Francisco, cited 107, 139
quoted 107-108
Sebastian, Saint. Representations 84-86

Sentenach y Cabañas, Narciso, cited 136, 137
quoted 32, 51-52
Sevilla 41
Museo Provincial 52
Shod Carmelite Nuns, Order of 101
Shod Trinitarians, Order of 55
Siege of Malta 14
Sierra de Guadarrama 37, 38
Sigüenza, José de. *Historia de la Orden de San Gerónimo,* cited 38, 44, 106-107, 137
quoted 45
Silva, Doña María de 24
Sinai, Mount *see Landscape of Mount Sinai*
Sixtus the Fifth, Pope 67, 77
Society of Jesus *see* Jesuits
Spain 1, 2
5, 17, 23, 26, 58, 64, 79, 80, 87, 90, 106, 124
Spanish School 40-42, 130
Influence of Italian art 40, 41
Influence of the School of the Netherlands 40, 41
Stephen, Saint 63, 64
Representations 72, 76
Stirling-Maxwell, Archibald. Keir (Dumfries) 54
Stirling-Maxwell, *Sir* John, *Bart.* London..16, 59
Supposed Portrait of Julián Romero..... 93-94
Supposed Portrait of the Duke of Benavente 50
Syriac Gospel of Rabula. *The Pentecost*..121-122

Tajo 18, 19, 22, 128, 130
Tasso 23
Amadigi, cited 106, 139
Tavera, Cardinal. Portrait 115
The Tears of Saint Peter (London. National Gallery) 86
The Tears of Saint Peter (Toledo. Church of the Hospital of *San Juan Bautista*) 115
Theban legion, Legend of Saint Maurice and the 45-46
Theotocópuli, Claudia 61
Theotocópuli, Doménico *see* El Greco
Theotocópuli, Gabriel 60
Theotocópuli, Jorge 61

Theotocópuli, Jorge Manuel.....
..... 25, 52, 59-61, 66, 114, 115, 131, 132, 140
The Burial of the Count of Orgaz 61
The Expolio 61
The Holy Face (Attributed) 114
Jesus in the House of Simon (Attributed) (New York. The Hispanic Society of America) 61
Jesus in the House of Simon (Attributed) (Titulcia. Church) 114
The Purification of the Temple (Attributed) 61
Saint Mary Magdalene (Attributed)..... 114
Theotocópuli, María 61
Theresa, Saint 76, 79, 81, 101
Tintoretto 8, 9, 13, 16
The Assumption 26
Thomas, Day of Saint 65
Thomas, Saint. Representation 77
Titian 8, 10, 40, 135
The Assumption 26
Glory 106
Portrait of Strada 9
Titulcia (Madrid). Church 114
Toledans 5, 112
Toledo, Juan Bautista de 38
Toledo 5, 8, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 36 40, 41, 43, 45, 46, 48-50, 59, 63, 64, 76, 79 80, 84, 102, 103, 105, 114, 117, 118, 127-130
Alcántara Bridge 128
Alcázar 18, 128, 130
(Archbishopric) Council of the Government 65, 67
Archway of the Blood of Christ 18-19
Casa de Ayuntamiento 61
Casa del Greco..... 19-20
Castle of *San Servando* 130
Cathedral 18, 20, 22, 30, 36, 61, 128, 130
Capilla Mozárabe 61
Chapter 33-35, 61
Chapel of *San José*.....91, 100-105
Church of *San Torcuato* 141
Church of *San Vicente* 122
Church of *Santo Domingo el Antiguo* 24-28, 43, 133, 140, 141
Church of *Santo Tomé*.....63-65, 77, 133

Church of the Hospital of *San Juan Bautista* 114-116
Colegio de San Bernardino 110
El Cristo de la Luz 22
Gate of Visagra 127, 129
Hospital of *Don Joan Tavera see* Hospital of *San Juan Bautista,* Toledo
Hospital of *San Juan Bautista*....127-129
Monastery of *San Pedro Mártir*.... 132
Museo del Greco.... 110
Paseo del Tránsito 19
Posada de la Sangre 19, 21
Santa María la Blanca 22
Seminario 36
Benigno de la Vega-Inclán y Flaquer, Marquis of Vega-Inclán 55
Zocodover 18
Toledo in a Storm 129-130
The Trinity 27, 30
Tristán, Luis 62
Triumph of Death 71
Troy 127
Tudor, Mary 43
Representation 42

Ulloa, Gabriel de 115
The Annunciation (Attributed) 115
Unamuno y Jugo, Miguel de, cited....5, 135, 138
quoted 5, 74-76

Valdés Leal, Juan 124
Valladolid 79
Vargas, Luis de. *The Genealogy of Christ*.. 41
Vasari, Giorgio 23
cited 12, 139
quoted 95-96
Vatican, Rome 126
Vega, Pedro de la. *Flos sanctorvm,* cited.. 139
quoted 112-113
Vega Carpio, Lope Félix de 20
Laurel de Apolo, cited 41
Por la puente, Juana, cited 136

quoted 18
Vega-Inclán y Flaquer, Benigno de la, Marquis of Vega-Inclán 19
Toledo 55
Velasco, Luis de 33, 40, 67
Velázquez, Diego Rodríguez de Silva y 53-54, 62
The Coronation of the Virgin 103
Portrait of Pope Innocent the Tenth.... 53
The Surrender of Breda..... 31
Venegas, Domingo 132
Venetian School 2, 8, 12, 13, 16, 17, 29, 40, 41, 119
Venice 4, 7, 8, 26, 40, 71, 139
Cathedral of Saint Mark 7
Grand Canal 7
Venturi, Lionello, cited 56
Vergara, Nicolás de 24, 33, 111
Veronese 13, 40
Veronica 28
Via Crucis 81
Vienna. *Kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie* 12
View and Plan of Toledo.....59, 128-130
Vinci, Leonardo da 23
Villanueva y Geltrú. *Museo Balaguer*.... 97
Virgin, Representations of the 26-30, 35, 40, 69-71, 73, 74, 92, 99 100, 104, 105, 112-114, 116, 120-124, 128, 129
Virgin Giving the Chasuble to Saint Ildefonso 35-36
The Virgin with Saint Agnes and Another Saint 91, 103-105
Viterbo 135

Walsh, Thomas, cited 139
Widener Collection, Philadelphia 103, 105

Yarborough, Lord. London 13

Zocodover, Toledo 18

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